

UNIVERSITY OF GONDAR
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND THE HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF CIVICS AND ETHICAL STUDIES



INTRODUCTION TO CITIZENSHIP STUDIES: ETHIOPIAN FOCUS

TEACHING MATERIAL

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Introduction to Citizenship Studies: Ethiopian Focus

Teaching Material

Prepared Under the Sponsorship of University of Gondar

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Authors Note

An introduction to citizenship studies is a subject that included under the department of Civic and Ethical Studies in Ethiopian Higher Education Curriculum. The course introduction to citizenship studies is three credit hour major course for Civics and Ethical Studies regular under graduate students. The subject intended to provide the background knowledge that able to create an ongoing stream of new vibrant citizens. In doing so, the subject gives due consideration for basic political theories and political systems nationally, regionally and internationally. In line with these major political theories and political system, the subject given higher attention on analyzing formal citizenship ad legal rights.

This approach of citizenship studies does not enable to understand, analyze and criticize the real and practical societal problem individually and communally. Especially, in contemporary Ethiopia where ethnicity and regionalism have gained over emphasis, citizenship studies should go beyond an analysis of formal citizenship and legal rights. It must be a planned course that address citizens issues or question of concern. It aimed at delivering a benefit or change on how we live together and make decisions in a given political community. Hence, citizenship must be treated as a strategic concept that is central to the analysis of identity, participation, empowerment, human rights and the public interest of a given political community individually and holistically.

Abbreviations

UDHR: -Universal Declarations of Human Rights

ICCPR: -International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR: - International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

BC: - Before Christ

AC: - After Christ

US: -United States

FDRE: - Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

PDRE: - People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

CRC: - Covenant on Rights of Children

NNP: - Nation Nationality and Peoples

NGO: - Non-Governmental Organization

UNUDHR: - United Nations Universal Declarations of Human Rights

SNNP: -Southern Nation Nationalities and Peoples

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Preface

Instilling democracy on an unshakable ground in a given society is the main goals of political leaders and political philosophers. This process on its base needs an educated citizen that clearly understands and develops an inherent character about one's own rights and responsibilities. At its core, 'Citizenship Studies' deal with the legal status of citizens by advocating and empowering citizenship rights in the political system. At minimum, there will be the right to be domiciled in and take part in the political decision-making process of the state, usually through voting. There will also be the status of legal equality with all others and the entitlement to be treated that are related to equal protection and due process of the law. In most modern democracies, citizenship also ensures the protection of other human rights and civil liberties, hence, not all of which may be available to people who have the right of residence in the country.

Throughout the history of the world and that of Ethiopia, there were times that distinguished between Citizens and Subject; a subject being someone who owes loyalty to a political sovereign but has no right to partake in the decision-making processes of the system. A subject may have other rights, particularly the right to be protected by the power he is subject to when abroad, but a subject does not have the right of political participation. In worst case, not only political rights, the basic human rights of individuals and some section of the society were violated and treated below humanity at the period slavery and servitude were highly practiced.

Recently there have been attempts to claim that the full conception of citizenship involves a broader duty: concern with the common interest and a sense of communal purpose and values. There also appears the idea of 'Global-Citizenship' and 'Global Civic' (sometimes called Communitarians that seeks to place citizenship in a set of value preferences, rather than making it a purely procedural concept). This concern mainly focused on developing social and cultural values that able to develop socio-cultural equality of the individuals in a given political community at grass-root level. This will become the spring-board for developing social harmony and justice in a given political community. The Understanding of the Communitarian approach of citizenship, henceforth, is to step forward the traditional understanding of citizenship as legal belongingness

to a more general social, economic, political and economic inclusion of individuals in a given political community.

Especially, in multicultural society like Ethiopia, social, cultural, economic and political exclusion is the basic problem that the country faces. Maybe it will be possible to reduce these social problems through the introduction of different legal statements and rules. However, the legal inclusion can never be a guarantee for developing and ensuring social and cultural inclusion of individuals in a given political community. That will be the basic motivating factor for communitarians to further broaden citizenship into more complex and broader social-framework in addition to the legal inclusion and political rights of individuals in a given community.

As a result, it would be better to establish and deliver an organized formal citizenship education that able to raise the awareness and capability of citizens. Bearing that in mind, the Ministry of Education designs the course Introduction to Citizenship Studies and integrates it with the curriculum of Civic and Ethical Education as major course for undergraduate students. The course is designed to explain the theories and practice of citizenship and citizenship rights in context of democratic citizenship in the world experience and Ethiopia. Noticeably, the course Introduction to Citizenship Studies is organized in six chapters with three credit hours or five ECTS course weight.

As the course is new and faces shortage of reference or supporting teaching materials, this teaching material is prepared to give a considerable contribution for facilitating the systematic study of the course Introduction to Citizenship Studies. For the purpose of efficient study of the subject matter, the teaching material organized in five chapters.

The first chapter deals with the general understanding of the subject matter of citizenship. In doing so, it tries to deal with the nature and meaning of citizenship from its simple understanding ‘legal belongingness’ up to more recent and multi-dimensional subject that integrates social, economic, political and legal inclusions as the concern of the subject matter. It also tries to made brief discussion about the philosophical foundation of citizenship. Furthermore, it also tries to associate the development of the subject matter of citizenship with the different forms of struggle for human rights.

The second chapter deal about the history of citizenship. It tries to deals with the changing relationship between citizens and state when we go from ancient to modern period of state. In doing so, the chapter were categorized in two three basic historical periods (ancient, Medieval and Modern) of citizenship. The ancient period of citizenship is associated with the political and social historical structure of Greek City States and Roman Republic. While, the medieval period of citizenship, which seen citizenship as equal legal status, are associated with the period from the Roman Empire up to the period of feudalism till the introduction of modern democracy. Finally, it goes to the modern period of citizenship that associate with the flourishing of modern democracy.

The third chapter deals about the ideological approach of states to citizenship. Though the approaches to citizenship are too many, the chapter tries to see only three competing and underling ideologies (Liberalism, Republicanism and Communitarian) that most likely associated with modern citizenship.

The fourth chapter deals about the membership and belongingness which is the core point under the concept of citizenship and citizenship rights. Under this chapter, membership and belongings are fascinated with struggle of individuals and groups for/against inclusion/exclusion respectively. From the internal struggle/dimension of citizenship, the struggle for property, gender, nationality, ethnicity and the issues of multiculturalism are the basic area of discussion. As an external struggle/dimension of citizenship, the condition and rights of transnational migrants were taken as the primary concern. It also tries to deal with the citizenship rights and alternatives that able to empower the right to citizenship for migrants.

The last chapter deals about citizenship in Ethiopia. This chapter had four major historical focuses that deals about the historical development of citizenship in Ethiopia. The first part of the chapter tries to deal about the historical development of citizenship before the Imperial majesty of Emperor Haile Selassie. The next part of the chapter devoted with the practice of citizenship and citizenship rights referring with the Imperial constitutions and Nationality proclamation which adopted for the first time in the history of the country. The next part of the chapter discusses about the nature of citizenship and citizenship rights during period of Derge. The Last and vast part of the chapter

focused on practice and nature of citizenship including citizenship rights under the FDRE constitution and 2003 Nationality Proclamation of Ethiopia.

In addition to this, at the end of each chapter, there are chapter end questions and self-check assessments in which students expect to answer for a better understanding of the subject.

CHAPTER ONE

THE NATURE OF CITIZENSHIP

Introduction

Citizenship is the process of creatively balancing tensions between inequality and solidarity by enmeshing persons as individuals and groups within networks of mutual rights and obligations. It is also the process of making peoples part of social orders and rendering legitimate reflections about how best to balance the tension between inequality and solidarity. The impact of globalization has complicated the traditional relationship between state and citizen. Rulemaking powers have become more diffuse, while citizenship status has become more broadly defined-further confusing analysis of how best to conceive of rights and rules in contemporary society. In essence, the expansion of citizenship rights involves recognition of inequality as unjust or unfair and the mobilization of efforts to promote equality, either as a result of top-down reform or social mobilization by the aggrieved in order to bring social change.

It is obvious that social movements and demonstrations which rise to defend the interest of the threatened groups were reacted and crashed forcefully for the purpose of defending the political, social and economic status-quo. However, for long-term stability, interests must be mediated through mental models and by the degree to which dominant interests prove themselves capable of understanding the implications of their intransigence, which may ultimately be the overthrow of the social order. The orderly extension of citizenship rights is therefore the key medium through which elites can maintain and legitimize the future existence of any given social order. Historical analysis indicates that the development of citizenship rights has not been a linear process, as universal aspiration and national reality have often been at odds.

The struggle for gender or racial equality is just two pertinent examples of this dynamic in action. In developing countries, where under-developed markets have stunted economic growth and associated social consciousness, political powers have not often expanded citizenship rights but rather rescinded them, and effective and transparent governance is not the precondition for the realization of individual and group rights, rather it further complicates the development of

citizenship. Rules are resources that must be steadily expanded and adapted to maintain social order.

Hence, a move towards a new conception of citizenship will require recognition of this fact, deeper analysis of the design and implementation of policies, and thought as to how we can best refine existing citizenship practices. The critical question for social policy in market economies has become how to balance the state, market and civil society in order to generate the solidarity and fairness necessary to create reinforcing networks of rights and obligations, and thus citizenship.

Minding this, this chapter tries to make brief discussion regarding with citizenship and citizenship rights and its philosophical foundation.

Chapter Objectives

The chapter has the following objectives: -

- Discuss the meaning of citizenship.
- Discusses the philosophical foundation of citizenship.
- Apprehend the impact of political, social and labour rights movements for political, social and economic citizenship.
- Compare and contrast political, social and economic foundation of citizenship.
- Realize the contribution of right movements and struggle for the development of Citizenship.

1.1. Overview of Citizenship Studies

In the past few decades a lot of issues have been raised towards the formation of new claims for inclusion and belongingness. Politicians, church leaders and different kind of campaigning groups (minority groups, indigenous groups, feminists, political parties, civil society, human rights activists) that combat for their local, national interest from different level of power and resources highly interested in creating group identification in specified political association.¹ On the other side, the major social issues like the status of immigrants, aboriginals, refugees, diasporic groups, environmental injustices, unemployment, homelessness and poverty have been expressed through the language of rights and obligations.² This articulation of rights for various groups has always invoked the ideas of citizenship. That new claim has a need of economic, social and cultural conditions that make possible them as citizenship rights. Accordingly, citizenship has been linked to the privilege of membership of a particular kind of political community in which members can enjoy certain status to participate in making collective decision that regulate social life.³ Likewise, in the 1990s, citizenship studies emerged as an emerging field that gears these socio-political conditions and new claims in to citizenship rights.⁴ After onwards, the rights and obligations of citizens were redefined and what it means to be citizen and which individuals and groups are enabled to possess such rights and obligations have become the main issues of concern for the newly introduced claim-citizenship rights.

However, in recent past period, the conception of citizenship as merely a status held under the authority of a state has been contested.⁵ Rather, citizenship rights are broadened to include various political and social struggles of recognitions, inclusion, protection and redistribution as instances of claim-making, and hence, by extension, of citizenship. The various historical struggles based upon identity and difference (whether sexual, 'racial', 'ethnic', diasporic, ecological, technological, or cosmopolitan) have found new ways of articulating their claims as claims to citizenship understood not simply as a legal status but also as political and social recognition and

¹Belleamy, R. (2008). *Citizenship: A very short introduction*. New York : Oxford University Press .

²Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies*. London: Sage Publications.

³Belleamy, R. (2008). *Citizenship: A very short introduction*. New York : Oxford University Press .

⁴ Ibid

⁵Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies*. London: Sage Publications.

economic redistribution. Even, the enormous injustices, oppression, and marginalization in ‘democratic’ as well as ‘democratizing’ states are also straightforward struggle for getting a political and social recognition and economic redistribution that further broaden the claim of citizenship rights. That is why even Engle F. Isin and Bryan S. Turner explains citizenship studies as follows: -

Citizenship studies ultimately focus on addressing this injustice suffered by many people around the world, making these injustices appears in the public sphere, enabling these groups to articulate these injustices as claims for recognition and enacting them in national as well as transnational laws and practices, and thus bringing about fundamental changes.⁶

Therefore, Citizenship studies are about producing analytical and theoretical tools with which to address these injustices with the depth, sensibility, scope and commitment that they demand and deserve.

Accordingly, the modern concept of citizenship encompasses the rights and obligations which allocated to individuals under the authority that draw from the nation-state which includes civil (free speech and movement, rule of law), political (voting, seeking electoral office, demonstration, lobbying), social and economic (welfare, unemployment, health care, security, cultural identification, freedom of thought and believe) rights. In fact, the practical implementation and upholding of these rights all together and depth of such rights grossly vary from state to state. For example, while some states guaranteed sexual rights like same sex marriage, others fail to guarantee even basic civil and political rights. In those state in which democracy not grown enough, citizenship, not only the basic civil, political, economic and social rights, will not have even effective legal and institution protection from an arbitrary action of the government.

Such variations of rights in an identified political association also create another challenge for those immigrants. While many nation-states have elaborated rules and criteria for ‘naturalization’, the granting of citizenship for those not born in its territory, such rules and criteria are often contested and debated and vary widely. When we see citizenship rights in language of inclusion

⁶Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies* . London: Sage Publications.

and belongingness in national and universal perspective, the modern understanding of citizenship systematically creates certain strangers and outsiders- particularly for immigrants. This is due to the reason that the composition of citizens, strangers, and outsiders and their respective rights and obligations in a given nation-state depends on its historical trajectories-historical belongings to a given territorial boundary and socio-political association.

1.2. Conceptual Framework of Citizenship

The concept of citizenship is contested and sensitive issue as it increasingly confluence with various aspects of human life. The interpretation and meanings of citizenship continuously differ from society to society and time to time.

In fact, the roots of the concept of citizenship are the Greek City State and the Roman Republic. Citizenship in these periods is understood as: -

*Citizenship is a status of men who are capable of being a warrior and actively participate in political decision-making in different level of political arrangement of the city administration.*⁷

The concept of citizenship especially in Greek City States is clearly demonstrated under Aristotle's *Politics*. He states that: -

*The good citizen should know and have the capacity both to rule and to be ruled, and this very thing is the virtue of citizenship*⁸

Accordingly, to the Aristotle, the person becomes capable to rule and be ruled if he have 'leisure' which cultivate virtue in a person under two conditions. First, the person must not be slave or free from manual labour. Second, must not be a poor man who devotes himself with business or trade activity to earn livelihoods. Aristotle's understanding of citizenship, as it practiced in Greek City States, clearly divide the public life from the domestic which simplify and reduce down citizenship and citizenship rights to only public life of individuals. Similarly, Aristotle's concept of

⁷Held, David. (1995). *Democracy and the Global Order*. Polity Press, Cambridge.

⁸Aristotle: *Politics*, Book III in Aristotle (1984): *The Complete Works*. Electronic edition. The Complete Works of Aristotle. BOLLINGEN SERIES LXXI · 2 Volume II. Past Masters Preface. Revised Oxford Translation. Edited by Jonathan Barnes. 2 vols. © 1984 The Jowett Copyright Trustees. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

citizenship, as that of Greek conception, is more sectional which totally alienate some groups of peoples (slaves, women, and children) from enjoying certain rights by being citizens of certain political community or state.

The other and more inclusive definition of citizenship was given after the onward expansion of the Ancient Roman Republic and forms an Imperial Rome in the medieval period of Europe. In this period, citizenship was understood as a legal status of individuals to belong to certain political community. Regarding with citizenship of the Medieval period Held states that: -

Citizenship of the medieval period constitutes the membership of and belongings to a political community, and consequently the creation of and life as political subjects who enjoy formal legal rights and duties of individuals and groups.⁹

In fact, this definition of citizenship is used even in the recent political and ideological structure states and political theories. However, though the definition seems like more inclusive and better than the ancient understanding and conception, it literally limits the concept of citizenship in to linear legal recognition of individuals to certain political community. However, as citizen's life is not limited to politic activities, it utterly fails to give a system of protection and recognition for rest life of citizens that goes beyond recognition in the political sphere.

Then latter, the concept of citizenship has been expanded to incorporate more groups and respond social and economic movements, political struggles and different rights demands. Especially, the increasing importance of membership has brought the concept of citizenship in the forefront of philosophical/public discourse/discussion that totally departs from the simple understanding of citizenship in line with the nation-state. Accordingly, citizenship is defined as follows:-

Citizenship is a process of balancing tensions between inequality and solidarity by enmeshing persons as individuals and group through developing and guarantying the legitimate existence and recognition of individuals and groups of peoples in a given political community.¹⁰

⁹Held, David. (1995). Democracy and the Global Order. Polity Press, Cambridge.

¹⁰Bosniak, L. (2001). Denationalizing citizenship. In T. A. Aleinikoff & D. Klusmeyer (Eds.), Citizenship today: Global perspectives and practices (pp. 237–252). Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Citizenship also defined as a system or an approach that used to address social issues relating social justice, human rights, community cohesions and global interdependences, and encourages to challenges injustice, inequalities and discrimination. For example, Marshal defines citizenship in the following way: -

*Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full membership of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is bestowed. There is no universal principle that determines what those rights and duties shall be, but societies in which citizenship is developing institutions create an image of an ideal citizenship against which achievement can be measured and towards which aspiration can be directed.*¹¹

No matter how the variation and different conception of citizenship that have been seen above, there are common underlining ideas that the meaning of citizenship can share from different perspectives and approaches. As pointed out by Enslin, the modern concept of citizenship comprises and includes the following major points and rights: -

- A. Gives membership status to individuals within a political unite
- B. Confers an identity on individuals
- C. Constitute a set of values, usually interpreted as a commitment to the common good of a particular political unite
- D. Involves practicing a degree of participation in the process of political, social and economic life and
- E. Implies gaining and using knowledge and understanding of laws, documents, structures, and process of governance

¹¹Marshall, T. (1950). *Citizenship and Social class* . New York : The Syndics of the Cambridge Universty Press.

1.3. Foundations of Citizenship: Philosophical Discourses

Brainstorm Questions

- What do you think about the philosophical foundation of citizenship?
- Do you think that human right movements have direct impact on citizenship?

The concept and subject matter of citizenship had been defined and redefined in line with the nature, structure and ideological orientation of states. As the ideology of states is very crucial to determine and offer some political, social and cultural blueprint, it plays a great role in determining the rights of citizen and citizenship rights in a given political system. Hence, citizenship and citizenship rights can be taken as the projection of the ideological guide-post of states.

There may be so many political labeling and state ideologies throughout the history of states. However, these many political labeling and state ideologies can be summarized in three basic parts by considering the central concept and argument of the ideology taken by respective states. These are capitalism which centered on individual's liberty and freedom; socialism that triggered social and cultural movements and rights; and Marxism-which fuels the movement of labour and economic rights. Due to this regard, the foundation of citizenship can be seen in three basic philosophical thoughts i.e. political citizenship, economic and social citizenship with its corresponding rights.

1.3.1. *The Foundation of Political and Legal Rights: Political Citizenship*

The introduction of citizenship is grounded in the guarantee of political participation rights and legal protection in any type of government ranging from the monarchical up to democratic states. That is why even the right of political participation or inclusion was the basic motive for the introduction of citizenship during the period of the Athenian and Roman Civilization.¹² On the other hand, citizenship can also involve in protecting 'the few' who have little power like ethnic, race, class, gender and religious affiliation that need protection from the tyranny of the 'many'.

¹²Fine, J. V. (1983). *The Ancient Greeks: A critical History*. New York : Harvard University Press .

‘majority’ or ‘elites’.¹³ These rights and protections also involve obligations or duties to interact within and promote the common will and political system as much as they are needed.¹⁴

At a foundational level, all citizenship rights are legal and political because citizenship rights are legislated by governmental decision-making bodies, interpreted by judicial decision and the latter promulgated and enforced by the executive orders. And what these legal and political bodies primarily make is ‘law’ which may undergird many other citizenship rights. For example, legal rights include personal security rights that protect citizens against illegal imprisonment, torture and death.¹⁵

In a less procedural vein, legal rights also include rights to freedom of conscience (e.g. rights to free speech, freedom of the press, free expression of religion) and choice (e.g. unencumbered selection of one’s occupation or profession, free choice of ethnic or multi-racial identities, and freedoms of sexual orientation including marriage).¹⁶ Political rights refer to participation in the public and are also largely procedural because of the process of enacting legislation is not synonymous with the substance of any particular right. Political rights include citizens’ rights to vote and participate in the political process.¹⁷ Each right is often pursued in specific institutional forums: legal or civil rights are mainly exercised in the courts.

- For further list of civil and political rights, please refer the international convention of human rights (ICCPR and UDHR).

The level of legal and political rights is different across democracies, democratizing countries, and countries governed by dictatorships. According to freedom house report (2010-2015) democratizing countries have better score in protecting civil and political rights than dictatorial countries.¹⁸ Citizenship rights are protected in national, regional and local level. But they probably

¹³Toktas, S. (2005). Citizenship and Minorities: A historical overview of Turkey's Jewish Minority . *Journal of Historical Sociology* , 394-429.

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ The UDHR article 3, 4, 5, 7,9 and 12 & The ICCPR article 5- 12

¹⁶ The UDHR article 13, 18, 19, 20 and 22 & The ICCPR article 18- 22

¹⁷ The UDHR article 21 & the ICCPR article 25.

¹⁸ World freedom House index report 2010-2015

might have difference in granting citizen's right, allocating budget and other mechanism for implementing those rights both in countries legal and institutional framework.

1.3.2. The Foundation of Social Change: Social Citizenship

Political and legal development and civilization of human beings lead to the development of more sophisticated social value and customs that able to develop an irreversible social bonds and systems throughout their live. However, these social system and values are full of cultural variations and also come-up with complicated social problems like exclusion, sufferings, and individual risks especially for women's, children's and minorities.¹⁹ The cultural variation can also be escort to an intense clash and contradiction among different cultures, customs and traditions which developed among social groups and rarely among individuals.²⁰ Hence, these social association and system were come up with different challenges and social problem that runs against the social and individual wellbeing.

Minding such problems, human beings try to reform social values into more inclusive social bonds that ensure the security of individuals and minorities.²¹ The social bond and system enable them to defend individual risks, sufferings, exclusion, health problems etc. This social change and the emergence of new social challenges imply that the social dimension of human life is currently being rethought in theory and practice.²² The thinking and the new understanding about the social change as well as the problem resulted from this change were begun to be expressed in right language. These rights are social rights which include rights to income, maintenance, education and access to employment, health services, and accommodation on the basis of needs.²³ Recently, these rights are authorized as national embodiments of universal human rights which incorporated under the UDHR and ICESCRs.

- For further list of social and cultural rights please refer international conventions (ICESCR and UDHR).

¹⁹Marshall, T. (1950). *Citizenship and Social class* . New York : The Syndics of the Cambridge Universty Press .

²⁰ Ibid

²¹Dagger, R. (1997). *Civic Virtues: Rights, citizenship and Republic liberalism* . New York : Oxford Univerity Press.

²²Marshall, T. (1950). *Citizenship and Social class* . New York : The Syndics of the Cambridge Universty Press .

²³ The UDHR article 22-29 and the ICESCR article 6-15

Accordingly, the new social and cultural movement and their politics can be said to reveal and implications of national citizenship. The implication of social and cultural movements on the national citizenship was articulated in to social citizenship that bases social rights of human beings. Social citizenship includes the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security, the right to share social heritage and the right to live the life of a civilized human being.

1.3.3. The Foundation of Labour Rights: Economic Citizenship

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the liberal economic rights to own property, make contract and to work were regarded as basic civil rights throughout much of Western Europe. However, the coming of Asians and African states, the concept of economic rights were broadened to incorporate new concepts and entitlements. But more importantly, the development of labour rights both natures of relations of possession; control and title has been the base for the development of economic citizenship.

Beyond this, according to James Gordon and Jane Lewis, the varying contemporary labour rights laid down the base to make various forms of economic citizenship across different states.²⁴ These different forms of labour rights are related to the two dimensions of property rights.²⁵

- The first is economic possession of the means of production. The labour rights may altered with respect to the economic possession of the means of production to labour's advantage by granting certain liberties to bargain over the terms of employment, and or by inscribing certain claims within the condition governing the hiring of labour and therefore the validity of the employment contract.
- The second is political or disciplinary control. The labour rights may alter the balance with respect to political or disciplinary control of the means of production to labour's advantage by granting certain liberties and specifying workplace rules or employment contract claims.

²⁴Gordon, J. (2009). *Towards Transitional Labour Citizenship: Restructuring Labour Migration to Reinforce workers rights*. California : Fordham Law School and Lewis, J. (2003). Economic Citizenship: Acomment . *Social Politics* , 176-185.

²⁵ Ibid

- For further list of economic rights please refer international conventions (ICESCR and UDHR).

Economic citizenship can be used to represent both the economic contributions requisite to become a citizen as well as the role in which one's economic standing can influence his or her rights as a citizen. The relationship between economic participation and citizenship can be considered contributing factor to increasing inequalities and unequal representation of different socio-economic classes.

Minding this, T.H. Marshall acknowledges this concept in his discussion on the relationships between social class, capitalism and citizenship. He argues that capitalism is reliant upon social classes which directly relates to different concepts of citizenship.²⁶ Similarly, Alice Kessler-Harris discusses the relationship between one's ability to labor, and his or her right to equal wages as a component of citizenship.²⁷ Her central argument addresses how denying a woman the right to labor and equal wages limits her identity as a citizen.

The arguments by both of these theorists contribute to the notion of economic citizenship because -they highlight both how economic standing and participation can be linked to one's identity and privileges as a citizen.

²⁶Marshall, T. (1950). *Citizenship and Social class*. New York : The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press .

²⁷Harris, A. K. (2003). In pursuit of Economic Citizenship . *Social Politics* , 157-175.

Table 1. Summary of the foundation of citizenship and citizenship rights

No.	Legal rights	Political rights	Social rights	Participation rights
1	1. Personal security <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ illegal disappearance, torture protection, capital punishment, abortion, invasion of privacy 	1. Personal political <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ vote, stand for office, freedom of information, right to protest 	1. Enabling rights <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ health care, old-age pensions, rehabilitation, family counseling 	1. Labour market rights <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ labour market information, job creation, job placement, discrimination protection, job security
2	2. Justice access and process <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Legal representation, free legal aid, waive legal fees, confront witnesses, jury trials, right to contract 	2. Organizational <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Form political party, form trade unions, social movement, opposition, right to assemble and protest, cultural and minority rights 	2. Opportunity rights <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Education, educational counseling 	2. Advise/ Determinative rights <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ work counsel, collective bargaining, co-determination, ethnic or indigenous council
3	3. Conscience and choice <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Free speech, press, freedom of religion, martial choice, occupational choice, gender and ethnic choice 	3. Membership rights <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Immigration and denizen rights, asylum rights, cultural rights 	3. re-distributive and compensatory rights <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ War injury benefit, work injury benefits, low income rights, unemployment compensation, rights violation compensation 	3. Capital control rights <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Wage earner funds, central bank controls, regional investment decisions, anti-trust and capital escape laws, co-determination

Source: -Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies* . London: Sage Publications.
The thoretical range of citizenship rights: Page 15

1.3. Chapter Summary

The definition of citizenship and citizenship studies have been contested among on scholars. When political thinkers brought their own version of citizenship as a legal relationship between state and individuals, activists, social and political groups consider citizenship as a bundle of rights in which an individual will have from being member of certain political, social, cultural and economic groups. Accordingly, social, economic and political movements like diaspora groups, refugees, aboriginals, minorities, environmentalists, political parties and soon groups had been expressing their grievance, questions and opposition through a right language of citizenship to develop and come up with new social, political and economic order for citizens.

Then, the introduction new and varied thinking of political agents and subjects leads to the new way of articulating citizenship as legal status, political and social recognition and economic redistribution rather the mere status held under the authority of a state. As a result, the modern concept of citizenship was understood as a process of balancing tensions between inequality and solidarity; creating equality and justice by avoiding injustice and inequality; and finally guarantying the legitimate existence and recognition of individuals and peoples in given community.

Due to this, the modern understanding of citizenship and citizenship rights are founded from basic rights of citizens that instigated and fueled by different social, economic and political movements. Accordingly, the modern citizenship rights that draw from the modern nation-state include civil and political rights, social rights and economic rights which laid for the foundation of political citizenship, social citizenship and economic citizenship respectively.

Chapter End Questions

I. Write true if the statement is correct and false if the statement is incorrect

1. The varying contemporary labour rights make the variety forms of economic citizenship.
2. The political foundation of citizenship states that because all citizenship rights are legislated by the government these all are legal and political rights.
3. Citizenship is the processes of creating equality and justice among individuals and group of individuals.
4. Citizenship avoids any kind of injustices, inequality and so on by mobilizing the society or individual.
5. The traditional understanding of citizenship and citizenship rights are related with politics and political activities.

II. Choose the best answer from the given alternatives

1. Which of the following is wrong regarding with the foundation of social citizenship?
 - A. The social problem and exclusion leads to born new social rights of citizens
 - B. It peculiarly reserves social rights for citizens only
 - C. Social change further fuels the movement for social rights of citizens
 - D. It also serves as the base of argument for getting social protection and non-discrimination rights for migrants.
 - E. All of the above
2. Which of the following is wrong about citizenship?
 - A. It used to balance inequality and solidarity
 - B. Serves as a technique to avoid injustice and inequalities
 - C. The process of recognizing the legitimate existence of individuals
 - D. The science that studies to maintain about good governance and human rights
 - E. None
3. Which of the following is not valid statement regarding with economic citizenship?
 - A. It helps to secure the property and property of life of citizens
 - B. The movement of labour right fuels the movement of economic rights and hence forth economic citizenship
 - C. It completely substitutes the political citizenship of individuals approach

- D. All of the above
 - E. None
4. Which of the following is list of rights is odd as per the foundation of citizenship?
- A. The right to job creation and placement
 - B. The right to form trade union
 - C. The right to vote
 - D. Freedom of information
 - E. The right to protest
5. Which of the following statement is wrong about the modern forms of citizenship?
- A. It is born of the nation-state that allocate certain rights and obligations for an individuals
 - B. Present concept of citizenship beyond the allocation of certain rights and obligation under the nation-state
 - C. It gives dues emphasis for group and collective rights over individual rights
 - D. All
 - E. None
6. Which of the following best reflects the economic and political citizenship?
- A. Economic citizenship is more individualistic than political citizenship
 - B. Political citizenship is more likely exercised in collective and group manner
 - C. Economic citizenship can be given to foreign economic expatriates than Political citizenship
 - D. All of the above
 - E. None
7. Which of the following forms of struggle did not contribute for the development and evolution of citizenship?
- A. Struggle for Minority rights C. Struggle for women right E. None
 - B. Struggle for sexual rights D. Struggle for disability rights
8. Which of the following rights is not under the list of the modern citizenship rights?
- A. Civil rights C. Security rights E. Sexual rights
 - B. Political rights D. Opportunity rights
9. Which of the following is not correct about the political citizenship?

- A. It generated to protect citizens from any kinds of legal and political coercion and abuse
 - B. Citizenship rights are legislated and promulgated by the government (political agent)
 - C. Citizenship are defined as universalistic rights and obligations of individuals
 - D. Citizenship rights are taken solely as individuals rights
 - E. None
10. Which of the following list rights are not categorized under the Political and legal foundation of citizenship rights?
- A. The right to vote
 - B. The right to confront witness
 - C. Freedom of religion and through
 - D. The right to get old-age pension and rehabilitation payment
 - E. The right to assembly and demonstration

III. Give brief explanation for the following questions

1. Compare and contrast political and social foundation of citizenship?
2. Explain briefly the contribution of rights movements for the development of citizenship?

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CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY OF CITIZENSHIP

Introduction

History of citizenship describes the changing relation between an individual and the state. There is a general view that citizenship in ancient times was a simpler relation than modern forms of citizenship, although this view has been challenged. The history of citizenship has sometimes been presented as a stark contrast between ancient citizenship and post-medieval times. These contrasting views can be summarized in two basic aspects. The first states that citizenship should be studied as a long and direct progression throughout western civilization, beginning from Ancient Greece or perhaps earlier, extending to the present. Others question whether citizenship can be examined as a linear process, growing over time, usually for the better, and see the linear progression approach as an oversimplification possibly leading to incorrect conclusions. The latter states that citizenship should not be considered as a progressive realization of the core meanings that are definitionally built into citizenship. Rather, it should be understood by examining within the context of a city-state or nation and trying to understand as people from these societies understood as an aspect of the development of law.

To mediate these two approaches and trace back the history of citizenship, this chapter tries to deal about the historical experience of citizenship in ancient civilizations and city states (Greek City States and Roman Republic), Medieval Period (Imperial Rome and Feudal Europe) and the Modern. In doing so, this chapter tries to see the basic difference (progress) that citizenship and citizenship rights show from one period to the other rather than judging as right to wrong. It also deals about the basic achievements of each historical period and experience for the flourishing of current understanding of citizenship to achieve the basic objectives and catch the nature and subject matter of citizenship.

Chapter objectives

The Chapter has the following objectives: -

- Comprehend the historical development of citizenship.
- Discuss briefly the practice of citizenship in ancient period.
- Compare and contrast Greek City State citizenship with the Roman Republic.
- Discuss briefly the practice of citizenship in medieval period.
- Compare and contrast the medieval citizenship with ancient citizenship.
- Clarify what modern citizenship is and what makes it different from the earliest?

2.1. Ancient Citizenship: Citizenship as Equal Participation**Brainstorm Questions**

- Could you remember the progeny contribution of Greek and Roman civilization for democracy and democratic decision makings?
- Do you imagine that these ancient city states and republic can also be the base for our citizenship studies?
- Do you have any information about the Roman and Greek citizenship in before?

The cradle of democracy in world history is most associated with city states of ancient Greek (Athenian and Spartan city states) and the Roman civilizations. Likely, citizenship has been linked to the progenitor's institutions and theories of ancient democracy. Accordingly, the distinctive core of citizenship has been taken as the possession of the formal status of membership of a political and legal entity and having a particular sort of rights and obligation within a given political community or city state of the ancient civilizations.

The core of citizenship and citizenship rights in both the Greek City-State and the Roman Civilization were reflected through the capacity of individuals to participate directly in any decision-making process and the capability of serving as a soldier. Though it can vary from place to place, citizenship of the ancient period can be achieved through blood descent.

2.1.1. The Greek City-State

For Greeks, the very core of identity and citizenship was the *polis*, the term and concept from which come all our words cognate with politics, political, polity, metropolitan, etc. Often, this fundamental term is simply translated as ‘city-state’, an autonomous and independent polity or state, where the single city is a government by it-self. By definition, it is not governed or governing as part of a larger entity such as a kingdom, Empire, or Federation. In Greek civilization, the *polis* emerged primarily as a people rather than simply a place. This conception has had nourished a sense of freedom and identity which had not been seen previously. The Athenian, the Corinthian, the Theban, the Spartan identified not so much with a spot of ground with boundaries; rather each lived, fought, and died for their fellow citizens.²⁸ Hence, with this identity as an Athenian or a Corinthian or a Spartan came a sense of political participation and relative equality of citizens as the basic bench mark of their city state administration.

However, the elements and standards of citizenship in Greek city states varied from polis to polis. Within the common institution of the citizen-state throughout the Aegean and beyond, there was much variety. In Athens and in colonies founded by Athenians, for example, all free males were enrolled as citizens.²⁹ In some polis, a citizen was required convincingly to claim descent from a distant ancestor and in others polis, one had to own land in order to be truly trusted to defend the polis as a citizen. Minding this, under the following subtopics, we try to discuss citizenship in some of the outstanding city state civilization of Greek.

A. Athenian Citizenship

Athenian civilization developed around the fifth century BC in the Greek city states known as a polis of Athens, comprising the city of Athens and the surrounding territory of Attica, and is the first known democracy in the world.³⁰ It was a system of direct democracy, in which participating citizens voted directly on their social, political and legal matters that directly or indirectly affect their life. The Athenian conception of democracy and participation was that ‘laws should govern

²⁸Heater, D. (2004). *A Brief History of Citizenship*. New York : New York University Press .

²⁹Hosking, G. (2005). *Epochs of European Civilization: Antiquity to Renaissance*. United Kingdom : the Modern Scholars Press .

³⁰Raaflaub, K. A. (2007). The Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece . *University of California Press* , 112.

everybody', in the sense of equality under the law.³¹ According to Hosking, citizens had the rights to speak and vote in the common assembly, to stand for public office, to serve as jurors, to be protected by the law, to own land, and to participate in public worship; and to obey the law, and to serve in the armed forces which could be in terms of buying or making expensive war equipment or in risking one's own life.³²

However, participation was not open to all residents. Rather, this participation right was given and granted for citizens only. That is why even Hosking noticed that citizenship was relatively narrowly distributed and excluded all women, all minors, all slaves, all immigrants, and most colonials, that is, citizens who left their city to start another usually lost their rights from their city-state of origin.³³ According to Ian Worthington, in Athens, only adult male Athenian citizens who had completed their military training as *ephebes* had the right to vote. Hence, this excluded a majority of the population: including slaves, children, women and foreigner's resident in Athens.³⁴ The Athenian citizenship also excluded citizens whose rights were under suspension from voting; for some Athenians this amounted to permanent and in fact inheritable disqualification of citizenship rights.³⁵

Athenian citizenship had to be applied not only to the individuals themselves but to their descendants as well. Hence, it could be granted by birth but not naturalized in any means. As result, the majority of Athenian residents did not enjoy such citizenship rights. Due to this fact, many historians felt that this exclusiveness was a weakness in Athenian society and democracy.

B. Spartan Citizenship

Sparta was one of the most important Greek city states throughout the ancient and classical periods and was famous for its military skills. Yet Sparta, in its rejection of private wealth as a primary social differentiator, was a peculiar kind of oligarchy and some scholars note its resemblance to

³¹Hosking, G. (2005). *Epochs of European Civilization: Antiquity to Renaissance*. United Kingdom : the Modern Scholars Press .

³² Ibid

³³Hosking, G. (2005). *Epochs of European Civilization: Antiquity to Renaissance*. United Kingdom : the Modern Scholars Press .

³⁴Fine, J. V. (1983). *The Ancient Greeks: A critical History* . New York : Harvard University Press .

³⁵ Ibid

democracy.³⁶In Spartan government, the political power was divided between four bodies: two Spartan Kings (diarchy), Gerousia (*Council of Gerontes* (Elders), including the two kings), the Ephors (representatives of the citizens who oversaw the Kings) and the Apella (assembly of Spartans).³⁷

Several thinkers suggest that ancient Sparta, not Athens, was the originator of the concept of citizenship.³⁸Spartan citizenship was based on the principle of equality among ruling military elite called Spartiates.³⁹They were full Spartan citizens-men who graduated from rigorous regimens of military training and at age 30 received a land allotment called a kleros, although they had to keep paying dues for food and drink as was required to maintain citizenship.⁴⁰In the Spartan approach to phalanx warfare, virtues such as courage and loyalty were particularly emphasized relative to other Greek city-states.⁴¹ Each Spartan citizen owned at least a minimum portion of the public land which was sufficient to provide food for a family, although the size of these plots varied.⁴²

The Spartan citizens relied on the labor of captured slaves called ‘helots’ to do everyday drudgework of farming and maintenance, while the Spartan men underwent a rigorous military regimen, and in a sense it was the labor of the helots which permitted Spartans to engage in extensive military training and citizenship.⁴³Citizenship was viewed as incompatible with manual labor.⁴⁴Citizens ate meals together in a “communal mess”.⁴⁵They were frugally fed, ferociously disciplined, and kept in constant training through martial games and communal exercises,

³⁶Dunn, J. (2006). *Democracy: a history*. Atlantic Monthly Press .

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Heater, D. (2004). *A Brief History of Citizenship*. New York : New York University Press.

³⁹Heater, D. (2004). *A Brief History of Citizenship*. New York : New York University Press and Hosking, G. (2005). *Epochs of European Civilization: Antiquity to Renaissance*. United Kingdom : the Modern Scholars Press .

⁴⁰Worthington, I. (2005). *The Long Shadow of the Ancient Greek World* . U. Missouri-Columbia : The Teaching Company .

⁴¹Heater, D. (2004). *A Brief History of Citizenship*. New York : New York University Press.

⁴² Ibid

⁴³Worthington, I. (2005). *The Long Shadow of the Ancient Greek World* . U. Missouri-Columbia : The Teaching Company .

⁴⁴Heater, D. (2004). *A Brief History of Citizenship*. New York : New York University Press .

⁴⁵Hosking, G. (2005). *Epochs of European Civilization: Antiquity to Renaissance*. United Kingdom : the Modern Scholars Press and Worthington, I. (2005). *The Long Shadow of the Ancient Greek World* . U. Missouri-Columbia : The Teaching Company .

according to Hosking.⁴⁶ As young men, they served in the military. It was seen as virtuous to participate in government when men grew older.⁴⁷ Participation was required; failure to appear for military services could entail a loss of citizenship.⁴⁸

While Spartans were expected to learn music and poetry, serious study was discouraged.⁴⁹ Historian Ian Worthington described a ‘Spartan Mirage’ in the sense that the charisma about military invincibility tended to obscure weaknesses within the Spartan system, particularly their dependence on helots.⁵⁰ In contrast with Athenian women, Spartan women could own property, and owned at one point up to 40% of the land according to Aristotle, and they had greater independence and rights, although their main task was not to rule the homes or participate in governance but rather to produce strong and healthy babies.⁵¹

2.1.2. Roman Republic Citizenship

The Roman Republic was the era of ancient Roman civilization beginning with the overthrow of the Roman Kingdom, traditionally dated to 509 BC, and ending in 27 BC with the establishment of the Roman Empire.⁵² It was during this period that Rome's control expanded from the city's immediate surroundings to hegemony over the entire Mediterranean World.⁵³ From their earliest history, they would connect their sense of civilization to the *urbs*, a term which could refer to any civic entity, but most usually and specifically to the city of Rome itself.⁵⁴

Brainstorm question

- Did you imagine that the Roman citizenship is quite different than the Greeks?
- List the basic features of Roman Citizenship?

⁴⁶Hosking, G. (2005). *Epochs of European Civilization: Antiquity to Renaissance*. United Kingdom : the Modern Scholars Press .

⁴⁷Heater, D. (2004). *A Brief History of Citizenship*. New York : New York University Press .

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹Hosking, G. (2005). *Epochs of European Civilization: Antiquity to Renaissance*. United Kingdom : the Modern Scholars Press .

⁵⁰Worthington, I. (2005). *The Long Shadow of the Ancient Greek World* . U. Missouri-Columbia : The Teaching Company .

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵²MacDonald. (1982). *The Architecture of the Roman Empire* . Yale University Press .

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies* . London: Sage Publications.

The Roman citizenship was highly influenced by the Greek model of citizenship. For example, according to, Greek ideas of citizenship in the city-state (like the principles of equality under the law, civic participation in government, and soon) were carried in the Roman world.⁵⁵ Beyond this the Romans blended their culture together with Greeks which sometimes described as ‘Romanitas’ through ceremonies, public baths, games, and a common culture helped unite diverse groups within the empire.⁵⁶ But Geoffrey Hosking also acknowledges the substantive difference of the Roman citizenship from the Greek model. For example, unlike the Greek city-states which enslaved captured peoples following a war, Rome offered relatively generous terms to its captives, including chances for captives to have a ‘second category of Roman citizenship’.⁵⁷ Conquered peoples could not vote in the Roman assembly but had full protections of the law, and could make economic contracts and could marry Roman citizens.⁵⁸

A further departure of Roman Citizenship from the Greek model was that the Roman government pitted the upper-class Patrician interests against the lower-order working groups known as the plebeian class in a dynamic arrangement which described as the dignity of the great man and the liberty of the small man.⁵⁹

Even though the touchstone of classical Greek citizenship was a powerful community identity that assumed exclusion, a central theme of Roman citizenship through time was inclusion of outsiders.⁶⁰ Hence, the general pattern was to extend citizenship rights to the elites of incorporated or even captured communities. In the earliest days of Rome, all citizens voted in the local elections. But as the Republic expanded to include surrounding and even distant communities, a further critical difference arose between Roman citizenship and Greek. For example, the granted rights of citizenship might live many days’ journey from each other and from the center of political power.⁶¹

⁵⁵Hosking, G. (2005). *Epochs of European Civilization: Antiquity to Renaissance*. United Kingdom : the Modern Scholars Press.

⁵⁶ Ibid

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Ibid

⁵⁹Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies* . London: Sage Publications.

⁶⁰ Ibid

⁶¹Hosking, G. (2005). *Epochs of European Civilization: Antiquity to Renaissance*. United Kingdom : the Modern Scholars Press.

This was a crucial difference from the type of face-to-face intimacy to citizenship which always characterized the polis.

In Roman Republic, the right to vote was one of the most fundamental rights to the highest tier of citizen.⁶² Though it was restricted to those who lived in, or could make it to, the city of Rome at election time, the Romans have the right to vote on officials and on all legislation that can directly or indirectly affect their live.⁶³ However, unlike Greeks polis, Citizenship in Roman Republic gradually came to have less and less of an absolutely necessary connection to active participation in political workings of Rome.⁶⁴ Hence, though the privilege of political engagement was always there, it was not practical for all to exercise it.

2.2. Medieval Citizenship as Equal Legal Status

Brainstorm Questions

- What are the basic features of the medieval period and political system?
- What do you imagine about citizenship of medieval period?
- Do you have any information about the citizenship status of individuals in the medieval period?

Throughout the medieval centuries, a law of citizenship came into being through-out Western Europe by establishing and recognizing some forms of citizenship status and develop its own naturalization requirements and procedures. The invocation of medieval urbanization and city administration reorganized the disintegrated feudal system into an organized legal and political association. However, the introduction of new political system does not make citizenship an intense political issue as it had been in ancient Greece and Rome. Rather, citizenship of the medieval period was transformed from political to legal recognition. As a regard, citizenship of the medieval period leads to equal legal recognition of individuals rather than equal political participation of the ancient period.

⁶²Taylor, D. (1994). *Citizenship: critical Concept* . Routledge Press.

⁶³ Ibid

⁶⁴ Ibid

2.2.1. The Imperial Rome

Brainstorm Questions

- What kinds of political change do Roman made to transform from republic to Empire?
- How could this political change affect its citizenship approach?
- What would be the basic change of it citizenship approach in Imperial Rome?

The Roman Empire was the post Roman Republic period of the ancient Roman Civilization characterized by government headed by emperors and large territorial holdings around the Mediterranean Sea in Europe, Africa and Asia.⁶⁵ According to Pocock, as Rome expanded initially within Italy, then over the rest of Europe, and finally into Africa and Asia – two important innovations came about.⁶⁶

- First, the populations of conquered territories were given a version of Roman citizenship while being allowed to retain their own forms of government, including whatever citizenship status they offered.
- Second, the version of Roman citizenship given was of a legal rather than a political kind- ‘*civitas sine suffragio*’, or ‘citizenship without the vote’.

Minding this Isin, Engin, Turner and Bryan state that: -

*The legal and political communities pulled apart and the scope of law went beyond political borders and did not need to be co-extensive with a given territorial unit.*⁶⁷

In the early years of the Roman Republic, citizenship was a prized relationship which was not widely extended. Romans realized that granting citizenship to people from all over the empire legitimized Roman rule over conquered areas. As noted by Pocock, when the centuries went by, citizenship in Roman Empire was no longer a status of political agency, but it had been reduced to

⁶⁵Pocock, J. (1998). *The Citizenship Debates: the Ideals of citizenship since classical times* . Minneapolis : The University of Minnesota Press.

⁶⁶ Ibid

⁶⁷Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies* . London: Sage Publications.

a judicial safeguard and the expression of rule and law.⁶⁸ The Roman conception of citizenship was relatively more complex and nuanced than the earlier Athenian conception, and it usually did not involve political participation.⁶⁹ Regarding on this, Taylor, David, Bryan Turner and Peter Hamilton state that there was a multiplicity of roles for citizens to play, and this sometimes led to contradictory obligations.⁷⁰

But, after huge territorial and political expansion of Rome, citizenship rules generally had the effect of building loyalty throughout the empire among highly diverse populations.⁷¹ The Roman Empire gradually expanded the inclusiveness of persons considered as ‘citizens’, while the economic power of persons declined, and fewer men wanted to serve in the military.⁷² The granting of citizenship to wide swaths of non-Roman groups watered down its meaning.⁷³

As the Roman republic became overlaid by the Empire, the link between citizenship and private interests underwent a dramatic change. Eligibility for Roman citizenship was at first similar to the criteria for Greek citizenship – citizens had to be native free men who were the legitimate sons of other native free men.

2.2.2. Feudalism, Serfdom, and the discourse on ‘Subject’

Brainstorm Questions

- How could you understand the term feudalism?
- Can you remember the basic characteristic features of feudalism in Europe?
- Do you have any awareness about subjects and their social political and legal status?

Feudalism was a combination of legal and military customs in Medieval Europe that flourished between the 9th and 15th centuries characterized by structuring society around relationships derived from the holding of land in exchange for service or labour.⁷⁴ In a centralized kingdom, the monarch

⁶⁸Pocock, J. (1998). *The Citizenship Debates: the Ideals of citizenship since classical times*. Minneapolis : The University of Minnesota Press .

⁶⁹ Ibid

⁷⁰Taylor, D. (1994). *Citizenship: critical Concept*. Routledge Press.

⁷¹Yvonne, M. (2002). *Citizenship in transformation in Canada*. Toronto : University of Toronto Press.

⁷² Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies*. London: Sage Publications.

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴Noble, T. (2002). *The foundation of Western Civilization*. Chantilly : VA: Teaching Co. press.

effects strong direct control over the entire state; in a decentralized kingdom, the monarch's power is limited by the strength of local lords, who have significant autonomy.⁷⁵ The term feudal can therefore be applied to any state that exists as a collection of significantly autonomous regions. Serfdom is an institution in which agricultural workers (peasants) are legally bound to the land they work upon.⁷⁶ Feudalism and serfdom were both prevalent in Western Europe for roughly the duration of the Middle Ages (500-1500 A.C.), after which they gradually faded away. They also developed in various other regions of the world, at various points in history.

As noted above, the feudal is often used, however, to denote the specific type of feudalism that prevailed in medieval Western Europe in which nobles granted tracts of land to lesser nobles in exchange for services. These services might be military, political, or religious in nature. The feudal system gave rise to a vast pyramid of allegiance.

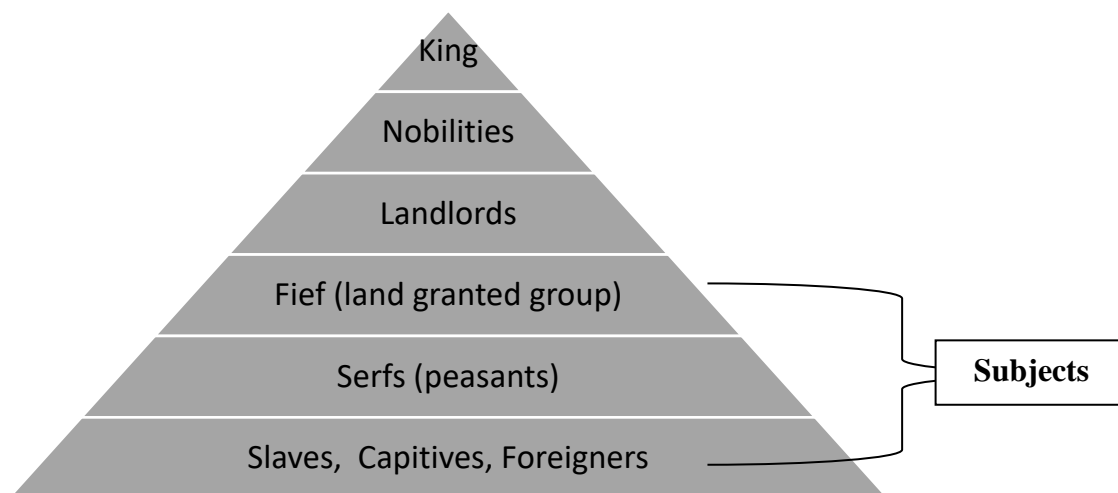


Figure 1.1. Social Hierarchy of Medieval Society

The system of feudalism and serfdom began to emerge when the Roman Empire crumbled and leave Western Europe to be ruled by a patchwork of small kingdoms established by warlords.⁷⁷ In these chaotic times, a king could not hope to maintain strong centralized control over his entire kingdom; he was forced to delegate power to local nobles, and the feudal system developed as a

⁷⁵Heater, D. (2004). *A Brief History of Citizenship*. New York : New York University Press .

⁷⁶Bloch, M. (1998). *Feudal society* . Chicago : University of Chicago Press .

⁷⁷Noble, T. (2002). *The foundation of Western Civilization* . Chantilly : VA: Teaching Co. press .

practical method of doing so.⁷⁸ In the then period, serfdom emerged as peasants were forced to sacrifice their freedom in exchange for protection.

However, unlike peasants and serfs, clergy and religious men (monks and nuns) were theoretically independent of secular feudal rulers; but subject to the authority of the Church. Rather, the kings sometimes achieved political dominance over local clergy and nobles and thus effectively placing them within the feudal framework.⁷⁹ The same is true of cities, which reappeared in Western Europe in the later Middle Ages; some remained separate from the feudal system, while others were drawn in by powerful monarchs.

2.3. Modern Citizenship

Brainstorm Questions

- What comes to your mind when we say modern Citizenship?
- What kinds of features do you think modern citizenship have?
- What would be the basic difference from the earliest forms of citizenship?

The modern idea of citizenship still respects the idea of political participation, but it is usually done through elaborate systems of political representation at a distance such as representative democracy.⁸⁰ Modern citizenship is much more passive as action is delegated to others.⁸¹ Citizenship is often a constraint on acting, not an impetus to act.⁸² Nevertheless, citizens are usually aware of their obligations to authorities, and are aware that these bonds often limit what they can do.

In the modern idea of citizenship, the political and legal views of citizenship have come to be associated with two traditions of political thought (republican and the liberal) with many accounts

⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁹ Ibid

⁸⁰ Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies*. London: Sage Publications.

⁸¹ Ibid

⁸² Ibid

portraying the first as having been slowly displaced by the second. Whereas the republican tradition tends to see liberty as the product of laws that citizens have participated in creating for themselves, liberalism has tended to view law as a necessary evil that should seek to preserve as much of the natural liberty of individuals as is compatible with social life. Nevertheless, such intellectual constructions need to be handled with care.⁸³

However, the sociologists; T. H. Marshall and Stein Rokkan define modern citizenship as follows:

-

*Modern citizenship is the product of the interrelated processes of state-building, the emergence of commercial and industrial society, and the construction of a national consciousness, with all three driven forward in various ways by class struggle and war.*⁸⁴

As the definition implies, the phases of state building provided certain preconditions for bringing together popular and legal rule within the new context of democratic, welfare, nation states operating within a capitalist market economy and hence it helped to create an affective bond between citizens and their state. In fact, the aggregate effect of the phases of state building, as stated by the above sociologists, was to create a ‘people’; who possessed equal rights to buy and sell goods and services and entitled to be treated as ‘equal before the law’ under a defined political territory that shaped their allegiance to each other and to their state.⁸⁵

Likely, Isin also tries to see these aggregate effects of the phases of state building on the development of modern citizenship in to three basic areas: -⁸⁶

- The first is the entitlement of all persons to the equal protection of the laws.
- The second is to create a community of interest that enables to create responsible ruler who promote the concern of ruled without oppressing them.

⁸³David, S. (2000). Citizenship, Diversity and Pluralism: Canadian and Comparative Perspective. *McGill-Queens Press*, 247-268.

⁸⁴Marshall, T. (1950). *Citizenship and Social class*. New York : The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press and

⁸⁵Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies*. London: Sage Publications.

⁸⁶ Ibid

- The last is to create a citizen who considers themselves as a people, sharing common values and various special obligations towards one another.

However, due to different circumstance and factors that a given state building phases pass through, the development of modern sense of citizenship naturally has differed from country to country. For example, the need for massive conscript armies during the First and Second World Wars, and, in consequence, for women's labour to run the domestic economy, aided considerably the acquisition of political and social rights by men and women in many European countries in this period.⁸⁷ That is why even, T.M. Marshall stated that: -

*This period was the period of ascending social and economic rights in Euro-American and Afro-Asian countries with the culmination of the struggle for an ever more inclusive and egalitarian form of citizenship.*⁸⁸

Hence, citizenship in its modern understanding encompass the civil and political rights, social and cultural rights and finally economic and welfare entitlements.

⁸⁷ Ibid

⁸⁸ Marshall, T. (1950). *Citizenship and Social class*. New York : The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press .

2.4. Chapter Summary

As it has been seen above, the history of citizenship is most commonly presented in terms of a sharp contrast between its ancient and modern forms of citizenship. Though this approach is contested of considering the development of citizenship as a linear process, the historical continuity and share of approach of citizenship in different historical period of the world experience in line with the integration of new ideas shows the historical development of citizenship relatively in linear process.

Historically, the concept of citizenship and citizenship rights are related with opportunity and capability of citizens to participate in politics and political activities. A historical account shows that ancient citizenship (period of Greek and Roman approach of citizenship) was commonly demands at least the potential participation of citizens in political decision-making process. Especially, for Greek mode of citizenship, inspired by writings of Aristotle which regards man as a political animal, to be citizen necessarily demands a minimum participation of citizens in the assembly, doing jury services, participation in public meeting and soon. However, the Roman citizenship, in the eyes of Machiavelli, was resulted from the class discord and struggle between the Plebeians and Patricians.

An enormous political and territorial expansion of ancient civilizations and city administrations including its fragmentation in to more fragile local administrative unites under the feudal period comes up with new approach, concept and status of citizenship and citizenship rights in the medieval period of Europe. Especially, after the huge territorial expansion of Roman Republic and transformation in to Roman Empire, the minimum demand of citizenship to be an active participant in politics and political decision making were changed and citizenship were become a legal status and recognition of citizens. Accordingly, citizenship for Roman Empire made a dramatic change and the conquered population was given a version of roman citizenship.

However, the disintegration of the Roman Empire and the culmination of feudalism in Europe trigger back the development of citizenship and citizenship rights into the sphere rule of men. Under this period the rich's and nobles were taking the highest class citizens which enjoy the real power of making political decisions.

But latter after the consolidation of democracy and replacement of ‘rule of men’ by principles of ‘rule of law’, citizenship and citizenship rights are also made significant change and modification. Accordingly, simple attachment of citizenship with direct political participation of the ancient citizenship and the equal legal status of the medieval period were changed into more comprehensive social, economic and political membership and belongings.

Chapter End Questions

I. Write true if the statement is correct and false if the statement is incorrect

1. Greek citizenship can truly serve as symbol of equality.
2. The history of citizenship shows that its development is linear and upwards uniformly.
3. Athenian citizenship did not discriminate children's and women from equal political participation.
4. The history of citizenship is most commonly presented in terms of a sharp contrast between its ancient and modern form.
5. Modern Citizenship is expressed as activity of fulfilling one's own obligation towards one's fellow citizen.

II. Choose the best answer from the given alternatives

1. Which of the following sentence is correct about ancient and medieval period of citizenship?
 - A. The locus of sovereignty was changed from individual citizen to group as group identity
 - B. The politics demands an actual participation of citizens as minimal requirement in both periods
 - C. The political participation right of citizens were significantly reduced in a level of simple legal membership in medieval period than the ancient period
 - D. All
 - E. None
2. Which one of the following is valid statement about citizenship in Imperial Rome?
 - A. It was gender favored
 - B. A given citizenship was political
 - C. Empower citizens to equal political participation
 - D. It reduces political citizenship to legal status/recognition
 - E. All
 - F. None
3. Which of the following is invalid about the ancient citizenship?
 - A. Citizen are the locus of sovereignty
 - B. Citizenship used as the means for equal participation

- C. Citizenship is expressed as activity of fulfilling one's obligation to the fellow citizen
 - D. Citizenship is guaranteed based on gender, sex and age
 - E. None
4. Which of the following statements are correct with regard to the concept of modern citizenship?
- A. It is expressed passively as a form of constraints upon actions or delegation of actions
 - B. Limits the sovereignty of the man and requested to represent for his/her behalf decisions
 - C. They owe a primal obligation of obedience to supreme sovereign rule
 - D. It profoundly limits the personal political autonomy
 - E. All
5. Which of the following statements is correct about Greek/Athenian mode of citizenship?
- A. It requires a minimum political participation
 - B. Gender, sex, and age are an important part of the concept of citizenship
 - C. It was inspired by the Aristotle's philosophy of 'man is a political animal'
 - D. All
 - E. None
6. Which of the following is wrong regarding with citizenship of the medieval period?
- A. The locus of sovereignty was changed from individual to an elected sovereign authority
 - B. Citizenship and citizenship rights become more legal rather than political
 - C. The conquered peoples, aliens and immigrants allowed to acquire Roman Citizenship
 - D. It allows and increase the opportunity of dual citizenship
 - E. None of the above
7. Which of the following is not considered as the necessary elements to acquire Athenian citizenship?
- A. Naturalization in Athens
 - B. Being male
 - C. Having direct blood descent from Athenian origin
 - D. Being warrior and ability to fight
 - E. None
8. Which of the following is valid statement regarding with the Greek city states?

- A. Their citizenship approach is more libertarian
 - B. The Greek citizenship is an exemplary of gender equality
 - C. It resulted from class discord and struggle
 - D. It requires a minimum participation of citizens in politics
 - E. All
9. Which of the following is not correct about citizenship of the Roman Republic?
- A. It was direct reflection of Greeks approach of citizenship
 - B. Only a native free man can exercise a true citizenship right
 - C. It resulted from class struggle between the plebeians and Patricians
 - D. It was characterized by two layered social class
 - E. None
10. Which of the following statement can be taken as the best achievements of the Modern approach of citizenship from its earliest form?
- A. It changes the locus of political sovereignty from individual to elected representatives
 - B. It obsolete gender discrimination
 - C. It general naturalization as the other forms of acquiring foreign nationality
 - D. It reduces the personal autonomy of individuals and forced to surrender to the elected representatives
 - E. None
- III. Give brief explanation for the following questions**
- 1. List and explain the basic features of Greek citizenship?
 - 2. Discusses and explain briefly the basic difference of modern citizenship from its earliest from

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CHAPTER THREE

APPROACHES TO CITIZENSHIP

Introduction

As seen in chapter one, citizenship was described as a ‘bundle of rights’ primarily, political participation in the life of the community, the right to vote, and the right to get protection from the community, accompanied by obligations. Citizenship is seen by most scholars as culture-specific, in the sense that the meaning of the term varies considerably from culture to culture. As cultures changes from time to time, the concept and practice of citizenship has never been fixed or static, but constantly changes as the change of culture and values within each society.

While citizenship has varied considerably throughout history and within societies over time, there are some common elements that vary considerably as well. As a bond, citizenship extends beyond basic kinship ties to unite people of different genetic backgrounds. It usually signifies membership in a political entity. It is often based on, or was a result of, some form of military service or expectation of future service. It usually involves some form of political participation, but this can vary from token acts to active service in government. Citizenship is a status in society. It generally describes a person with legal rights within a given political order. It almost always has an element of exclusion, meaning that some people are not citizens, and that this distinction can sometimes be very important, or not important, depending on a particular society.

Generally, citizenship as a concept is hard to isolate intellectually and compare with related political notions, since it relates to many other aspects of society such as the family, military services, individual freedom, religion, and ideas of religion, ideas of right and wrong, ethnicity, and patterns for how a person should behave in society. When there are many different groups within a nation, citizenship may be the only real bond which unites everybody as equal without discrimination. It is a broad bond linking a person with the state and gives people a universal identity as a legal member of a specific nation.

Withstanding from the various forms of citizenship across different political and ideological approaches of states of the world and its due consideration of basic rights of citizens, modern citizenship has often been looked in three competing and underlying ideas- i.e. liberal citizenship,

civic republican citizenship, and communitarian citizenship approaches. Minding this, this chapter tries to focus on the major ideological and political approaches of citizenship stated above.

Chapter objectives

The chapter has the following objectives: -

- List the basic approach of citizenship in modern democratic world.
- Explain the liberal approach of citizenship.
- Discuss republican approach of citizenship.
- Explain communitarian approach of citizenship.
- Differentiate three approaches of citizenship.

3.1. Approaches of Citizenship

In social studies, a political approach/ideology is certain sets of ethical ideals, principles, doctrines, myths or symbol of a social movement, institution, class or large group that explains how society should work and offers some political and cultural blueprint for certain social order. Political approach is a form of thought that presents a pattern of complex political ideas simply and in manner that inspires action to achieve certain goals.

Though it is not all inclusive, the most popular political ideologies which reflected in most governments if the world are liberalism, civic-republicanism, communism and radical liberalism. These political ideologies are sets of beliefs about the political, economic, social and cultural affairs. Typically, each ideology contains certain ideas on what it considers to be the best forms of government, best economic system, determine the relation between citizens and government and soon. likely, these major political ideologies also have peculiar but not mutually exclusive citizenship approach regarding with citizenship and legal rights of citizen. Accordingly, in the next few sections, we try to see citizenship approaches of thus political ideologies.

3.1.1. The Liberal Approach

Brainstorm Questions

- What do you know about Liberalism?
- What kind of features do liberal states do have?
- Do you think that liberal states do have their unique approach of citizenship?

The concept of citizenship is so central in the domain of political philosophy that it deserves a particular analysis as citizenship has to do with the relations between individuals and state, as well as with societies. Liberalism, as the major political philosophy, in its ideological approach to political administration tries to determine the nature and structure of state and its relation with citizens. In its base, liberalism is a political philosophy founded on ideas of basic human rights i.e. liberty and equality which emphasizes on the role of liberty, importance of equality.⁸⁹ Liberals espouse a wide array of views depending on their understanding of these principles, but generally they support ideas and programs such as freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of religion, free market, civil rights, gender equality and soon.⁹⁰ The due consideration of these basic freedoms and rights accompanied with free market principle and individualism has also manifested on its conception of citizenship.

The liberal conception of citizenship has a concern that the individual's status may be undermined by government. The conception of liberal citizenship suggests focusing on the manufacture of material things as well as man's economic vitality, with society seen as a market-based association of competitive individuals.⁹¹ From this view, citizens are sovereign, morally autonomous beings with duties to pay taxes, obey the law, engage in business transactions, and defend the nation if it comes under attack, but, as stated by Isin, they are 'politically passive'⁹². This conception of

⁸⁹Young, S. (2002). *Beyond Rawls: an Anlysis of the concept of Political liberalism* . Lanham : University Press of America .

⁹⁰Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies* . London: Sage Publications.

⁹¹Taylor, D. (1994). *Citizenship: critical Concept* . Routledge Press.

⁹²Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies* . London: Sage Publications.

citizenship has sometimes been termed conservatively in the sense that passive citizens want to conserve their private interests, and that private people have a right to be left alone.

Citizenship under the liberal approach views it as a status in a minimal state and accordingly limits what citizens' duties entail and the extent to which they are expected to participate in the state. Accordingly, liberalists believe that citizens should be able to vote, pay taxes, and obey the laws as they are considered to be aware of their right (free speech) and that it cannot be denied. According to John Rawls, the liberal citizenship asserts that citizens of a liberal state are political entities whose essential nature is most fully realized in a democratic society in which there is widespread and vigorous participation in political life.⁹³

Liberal approach of citizenship promotes the idea that citizenship is a status, which entitles individuals to a specific set of universal rights granted by the state. The central thought of liberal citizenship is that individual citizen's act 'rationally' to advance their own interests, and that the role of the state is to protect citizens in the exercise of their rights.⁹⁴ The assumption here is that granting each individual the same formal rights is understood to promote equality through making a person's political and economic power irrelevant to rights claims.

Depending on their area of focus and approaches to citizenship, the libertarians have two forms- the civic liberal and utilitarian liberal approaches of citizenship. The civic liberal, advocated by Marshall, conceptualizes citizenship by inserting social rights to the previous dyad of political and civil rights and argued that states have duty to protect individuals from social and economic uncertainties through welfare provisions.⁹⁵ While, the utilitarian liberalist, advocated by Rawls, conceptualize citizenship by guaranteeing individuals to make choice through the course of their lives, which are not constrained by their initial socio-economic endowments.⁹⁶ According to Rawls (2009), the basic goal of the 'good society' is the greatest achievement of individual interest for

⁹³ Ibid

⁹⁴ Oldfield, A. (1990). Citizenship: An Unnatural Practice? *The political Quarterly* , 89.

⁹⁵ Ibid

⁹⁶ Rawls, J. (2009). *A theory of justice: Revised edition*. Harvard university press.

the greatest number of citizens, and the role of the political realm is to protect individuals by leaving them unhindered in pursuit of their interest.⁹⁷

3.1.2. Civic-Republican Approach

Brainstorm Questions

- Are you familiar with the republican political ideology?
- What would be the basic difference from the liberal ideology?
- What kind of citizenship approach will the republican state have?

A republic is a form of government in which the country is considered as the public matter rather than the private concern or property of the rulers in which their office of authority is elected or appointed but not inherited. It is a government where the head of state is not a monarch and government leader's exercise power according to the rule of law.⁹⁸ While Republicanism is an ideology of being a citizen in a state as a republic under which the people hold popular sovereignty.⁹⁹ Accordingly, the conception and approach towards citizenship and citizens' rights is also shaped by the ideological framework that a given republican states have.

A competing vision of republicans towards citizenship and citizens' rights is that democratic citizenship may be founded on a culture of participation by underlining the importance of people practicing citizenship actively and finding places to do this.¹⁰⁰ Unlike the liberal-individualist conception, the civic-republican conception was inspired by the philosophy of Aristotle which

⁹⁷Ibid

⁹⁸Bohn, H. (1849). The Standard Library Cyclopedia of Political, Constitutional, Statistical and Forensic Knowledge . 640.

⁹⁹Mortimer, N. S. (1994). American Republicanism: Roman Ideology in the United states Constitution . New York University Press, 71.

¹⁰⁰Taylor, D. (1994). *Citizenship: critical Concept* . Routledge Press.

emphasizes man's political nature, and sees citizenship as an active, not passive phenomenon. Minding this, Dora Kostakopoulou states that: -

The republican approach of citizenship emphasizes the democratic participation inherent in citizenship and can channel legitimate frustrations and grievances and bring people together to focus on matters of common concern and lead to a politics of empowerment.¹⁰¹

Unlike the liberal-individualist, republicanism relatively more concerned in enabling the governmental interferes on popular places to practice citizenship in the Public sphere, rather than taking away or lessening particular citizenship rights.

According to Beiner and Ronald (1998), the idea of republican citizenship was forged in to two major formative periods.¹⁰²

- The first formulation occurred during the rise and falls of the Greek city-states from roughly the seventh to the fourth centuries B.C. and was developed further in the Roman Republic from the fifth to first centuries B.C.
- The second took place in connection with the growth of the modern nation-states in the revolutionary era of Western Europe and America from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

The founders of the American Republic not only drew heavily upon both the Greco-Roman tradition of citizenship and the Western Europe but made significant contributions of their own to the idea of democratic citizenship.

A general problem with this conception, according to Oldfield, is that if this model is implemented, it may bring about other issues such as the free rider problem in which some people neglect basic citizenship duties and consequently get a free ride supported by the citizenship efforts of others.¹⁰³ In addition to this, the republican have been criticized for not being clear when taking

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² Pocock, J. (1998). *The Citizenship Debates: the Ideals of citizenship since classical times*. Minneapolis : The University of Minnesota Press.

¹⁰³ Taylor, D. (1994). *Citizenship: critical Concept*. Routledge Press.

about the common good or common interest as the concept of ‘common good’ is loosely defined is not clear in determining what makes them good.

3.1.3. Communitarian Approach

Brainstorm Questions

- What is the central idea of communitarian ideology?
- What would be their citizenship approach?

Communitarians go against the individualism preached by liberals. Their basic principle is that people are by nature part of a socio-cultural community. What matters is the individual contribution to the greater whole (i.e. the community). In other words: the central focus is not on individual goals, but rather on common goals. Loyalty to the community is an essential value. Consensus and the absence of conflict are key elements of a well-functioning society. Communitarians expect citizens to actively take part in society and put the common good ahead of individual gain. This theory substantiates the moral dimension of citizenship in the form of participation in the community on both a social and a cultural level.

As the communitarians argues that the interest and identity of individuals are only realized through deliberation over the “common good” and the individual liberty is maximized through public services and prioritization of the “common good”, they defined citizenship as a process of developing a particular ‘civic virtue’ for a defining center of common identity.¹⁰⁴

3.1.4. Other Views

The subject of citizenship, including political discussions about what exactly the term describes, can be a battleground for Ideological debates. Fore-example, in Canada, citizenship and civic education are hotly contested themes for their citizens. There continues to be sentiment within the academic community in trying to define one unitary theory of citizenship which would describe

¹⁰⁴Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies* . London: Sage Publications.

citizenship in every society, or even in any society.¹⁰⁵ According to Hebert & Wilkinson, Citizenship is a multi-layered belonging since each person belongs to many different groups with different attachments, bonds and allegiances.¹⁰⁶ This view of citizenship is considered to be a multi-dimensional approach that tries to incorporate at least the three dimension of citizenship- political, social and economic citizenship with a due emphasis of group and individual concerns together.

¹⁰⁵Kostakopoulou, D. (1994). the Future governance of citizenship . *Cambridge University Press* , 13-195.

¹⁰⁶Yvonne, M. (2002). *Citizenship in transformation in Canada* . Toronto : University of Toronto Press .

3.2. Chapter Summary

Studying about citizenship and citizenship rights in modern understanding usually (in one or the other way) falls under three contending trajectories of states. These trajectories of states are usually referred as political models of state. The dominant political dominants that do have an identified citizenship approach which already deal in this chapter are liberalism, republicanism and Communitarianism. As we have been seen above, these models of states have different but mutually unexclusive citizenship and citizenship rights approaches one from the other.

The liberal model of citizenship, originated from the citizenship approaches of Roman Empire which expand citizenship rights to the conquered peoples, understood citizenship as legal protection rather than political participation and gives priority for political liberty as a means to protect individuals freedom from interference by other individual or authority themselves.

On the other hand, the republic approaches, powered by Aristotle's characterization of citizenship, emphasizes on the inherent and active participation of citizens in politics and public spheres and able to channel legitimate frustration and grievance to bring peoples together and focus on matters of common concern and leads them to politics of empowerment. Unlike the liberalist approach, the republican approach more concerned about the intervention of government with popular activities and places for the practice of citizenship and citizenship rights in the public sphere.

The last citizenship approaches, communitarianism, powered by the Marxist ideology of class society and Leninist manifesto socialism, rejects individualist approach for citizenship and argues that citizenship is rooted in a culturally defined community. Communitarianism argues that citizenship as membership to certain community is literally begins prior to the development of states or political agents.

Chapter End Questions

I. Write true if the statement is correct and false if the statement is incorrect

1. Empirical theory of citizenship tries to state about the logical inconsistencies of the past theories.
2. Republican citizenship is described as 'public citizenship'.
3. Republicans argue that citizenship is rooted in a culturally defined community rather than the liberalist approach of individuals.
4. Communitarian citizenship rejects moral collectivism.
5. Communitarian approach of citizenship focus on matters of common concern that lead to a politics of empowerment.

II. Choose the best answer from the given alternatives

1. Normative theory of citizenship is theory that-----.
 - A. Sets out the rights and duties which citizens ought to have
 - B. Portrays the right and duties that citizens exercise
 - C. Explores the social, political and economic rights that fashioned the development of citizenship
 - D. All
 - E. All except C
2. Which of the following is correct about the normative theory citizenship?
 - A. It describes the historical development of citizenship
 - B. It prescribes the code of conduct of citizen that out to have
 - C. It justifies the historical inconsistencies of the old version of citizenship
 - D. All
 - E. B & C
3. Which of the following is the character of communitarian citizen?
 - A. Defines its political right in accordance with his/her communal life experience
 - B. Fashioned his/her interest in accordance with the material collectivism of the cultural community
 - C. One who did not think about his or her self-interest but concentrates on the communal interest
 - D. One who prioritized belongingness to political community than the cultural community
 - E. All

4. Which of the following statement best reflects the difference between the three approaches of citizenship in world experience?
 - A. The political statues of individual citizen
 - B. The area of concern in which the given political system tries to promote the political interest of its own citizens
 - C. The way in which a given political system ensures recognition from its' own citizens
 - D. All except A
 - E. All except C
5. Which one of the following is wrong about liberal approach of citizenship?
 - A. Individualism
 - B. Passive political participation
 - C. None- interference
 - D. free competition
 - E. None
6. Which of the following is correct about the normative theory citizenship?
 - E. It describes the historical development of citizenship
 - F. It prescribes the code of conduct of citizen that out to have
 - G. It justifies the historical inconsistencies of the old version of citizenship
 - H. All
 - E. B & C
7. Which of the following is correct about the civic-republican approach of citizenship?
 - A. Focuses on matters of common concern
 - B. Emphasize on man's political nature
 - C. there will be government interference
 - D. All
 - E. None
8. Which of the following is wrong about communitarian approach of citizenship?
 - A. The self is cultural specific
 - B. Political interest is determined by cultural interest
 - C. Cultural collectivism is moral collectivism
 - D. All
 - E. None
9. Which of the following is can be taken as the challenge of citizenship in liberal democracy?
 - A. The growing gap between the 'have's' and the 'have not's'
 - B. Cultural fragmentation and social hierarchy
 - C. Social and economic discrimination
 - D. The ride of election by self-interest rather than the public
 - E. None
10. Which of the following is wrong about the republican approach for citizenship?

- A. Emphasizes on active participation of citizens on politics
- B. Allow the interference of government on popular place and activities
- C. Give due consideration for matters of common concern
- D. The individual rights and freedoms are the base for citizenship rights
- E. None

III. Give brief explanation for the following question

1. Briefly explain the character of republican approach of citizenship and state the basic critics?
2. Explain briefly the difference and similarity between the communitarian and liberal approach of citizenship

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CHAPTER FOUR

MEMBERSHIP AND BELONGINGNESS

Introduction

Membership and belongingness is a fundamental human motivation that we face severe consequences of not belonging. Hence, this desire is so universal that the need to belong is found across all cultures and different types of people in a multi-dimensional way. Due to this fact, membership and belongings also lies at the heart of citizenship. To be a citizen is to belong to a given political community. Consequently, for most people's membership and belongings in a given political community is both necessary and unavoidable as it is virtually impossible not to live in a state that cover most of the earth.

Conversely, becoming stateless leads to face the problem of exclusion and lost any protection as almost all stateless community face in different period of time. Even those in this condition do not allowed to live outside any state rather, they are forced to become supplicants for whatever aid and support those states willing to receive them, or unable to avoid doing so, condescend to provide.

In fact, the necessity and unavoidability of living in a state makes the exclusivity associated with citizenship doubly problematic. First, it seems invidious to exclude those who are subject to a given state's power from full membership, possessing the same rights as other citizens. Second, given that the state you initially find yourself in is an accident of birth, it may seem equally invidious to hinder people moving to become members of a different state that offers them better opportunities, if they are willing to take on the duties as well as enjoy the rights of citizenship. Participating in politics and, more generally, in social, economic, and cultural life is central to modern democracy, which has emerged out of struggles for inclusion of the poor, women, the working class, minorities, indigenous peoples, and, more recently, immigrants.

Minding this, this chapter tries to explore membership issues for those who live in their homeland state and for those who migrated to abroad. In doing so, this chapter tries to categorize membership issue of peoples who live in their homeland as the matter of internal citizenship while for those immigrants it referred as external citizenship. From the matter of internal citizenship property and

property rights, gender issues, Nationality and Ethnicity are taken due the major area of discussion. While the rights, citizenship status and alternative mechanism of improving the right to citizenship of immigrants are the major area of discussion.

Chapter Objectives

The chapter has the following objectives: -

- Explain what membership mean and its relation with citizenship.
- Analyze the forms of exclusion against citizens and citizenship rights.
- Scrutinize the internal dimension of citizenship in relation with gender, property rights, ethnicity and nationality.
- Inspect the external dimension of citizenship in relation with the rights and status of immigrants in line with the concept of citizenship.

4.1. Conceptual Understanding of Membership and Belongingness

Brainstorm Questions

- What is the need to be a member?
- Why we demand to belong to certain social, political or economic group?
- What kinds of relation does membership and belongingness have with citizenship?

Defining and giving a comprehensive meaning for citizenship is not an easy task as the concept of membership and belongingness become the concern of citizenship of different scholars across different field of studies. For example, the psychologist, Baumeister & Leary defines membership and belongingness as follows: -

*Citizenship is a human emotional need to be an accepted member of a group in which people tend to have an inherent desire to belong and be an important part of something whether it is family, friends, co-workers, religion, or something else which is greater than them.*¹⁰⁷

This implies that a relationship and citizenship is greater than simple acquaintance or familiarity among individuals and groups who live together. Rather, citizenship involves acceptance and integration of individual's existence and belongings to established social, political, economic and cultural society. Alongside, the sociologist, Marion Levy state that: -

*Membership and belonging to a collectivity or social group characterized by solidarity through the assumption of some sort of role within it by an individual is brought about by two concomitant processes i.e. inclusion and participation.*¹⁰⁸

As far as the subject matter of citizenship concerned, citizens of given states are empowered to actively participate and have the right to integrate and entitled to enjoy basic rights as per the legal procedure of the country. But, if they lost or forced not to enjoy any of the rights as citizens of the country or by state being human and incapacitated from any participation by any means we can say that these citizens face an internal exclusion from exercising their citizenship rights. Similarly, beyond the national level, membership and belongings matter of citizenship also goes to deal with the status and rights of those immigrants on the matter, if possible, to entitled citizenship right, if not, not to face serious discrimination and exclusion.

¹⁰⁷ Baumeister, M. L. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin* , 497-529.

¹⁰⁸ Levy, M. (1952). The structure of society . *Princeton University Press* .

4.2.From Subject to Citizen: The Internal Dimension of Inclusion and Exclusion

Brainstorm Questions

- What does internal citizenship mean?
- What are the basic challenges that a given citizens will face internally?
- What kind or forms of discrimination will a given citizens face?

The criteria for citizenship in ancient period (Greece and Athenian) have cast a long shadow in determining many of the key attribute of citizenship. For example, as discussed under chapter two, Isin (2002) argues that “*the Athenian citizen was a householder and property owner, a master of the labour of others, a warrior, of Athenian blood, and mallet*”.¹⁰⁹ But it is rejected today and considered as unwarranted and discriminatory and this requirement excludes a majority of individual who does not possess any of these qualities and rights to possess ownership rights, and basic freedoms.¹¹⁰ This exclusionary and unwise approach to citizenship was considered as a triggering factor for the up-rise of resistances, conflicts and even civil-wars.¹¹¹

So far, the underlying rational for development and re-conceptualization of citizenship differently in different period of time and political community is associated with the attributes that attached to citizenship and citizenship rights. Hence it will be better to discuss the historical account of citizenship and the criteria attached to it so as to augment the specific qualities of citizenship and its expectation. Most likely, the concept of citizenship was taken as the center of argument regarding the protection of individual and group rights under a given state. This protection was interpreted with regard to the rights of individuals in possessing property ownership rights, non-discrimination, equal protection and possession of basic human rights across different sex, ethnicity, social, political and economic status of individuals and groups.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies* . London: Sage Publications.

¹¹⁰Benhabib, S. (2005). The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents and Citizens. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 235-265.

¹¹¹Ibid

¹¹² Ibid

4.2.1. Property and the Properties of Citizenship

The history of possessing private property and the struggle for it is as long as the history of humankind. The long-lasting demand and struggle of mankind for possessing private property also come up with the demand of getting protection and establishing an institutional and policy approaches that abled to ensure every mankind with a degree of self-governing power for their properties. Especially with the introduction of citizenship rights, the demand of getting protection for ones' property and related issues became a critical demand for an individual citizen that legitimately belong to a given political community-state. Accordingly, with change of the nature, system and source of economic, political and social activities, the need of self-governing power goes beyond owing private properties for an individual citizen of a given state. For example, Property and the properties of citizenship in ancient Greece, being the patriarch of a household was much more than simply owning a home.¹¹³ Rather, they just expected to play crucial role in the public economy by creating a self-sufficient household and an active citizen that actively involves in public decision-making process that affects their economy.

As Isin (2002) tries to suggest, household in modern understanding shall be the basic components of the economy with three basic qualities manifested under individual citizens.¹¹⁴ Primarily, the house or citizens under it, could devote themselves to their civic duties, being freed from the need to earn a livelihood accompany by their private interest. Secondly, the house or citizens under it shall be also dependent on other household citizens and vice versa which referred to as interdependence, but also has some degree of independence. Finally, citizens shall literally have a stake in the political community, with their fate or at least that of their assets that intimately bound to their fate, to the extent of being willing to fight and possibly die for their country.

Conversely, people argue, rather than the private autonomy being the basis of public autonomy in the political realm, political participation and the regulation of the private sphere have become the guarantees of personal freedom. Accordingly, people argue that to take the first property of devotion to the public good, people want to prevent politics from being a source of personal gain

¹¹³Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies*. London: Sage Publications.

¹¹⁴ Ibid

by becoming either entangled with the private interests of citizens and politicians or having to compete with them for their attention.¹¹⁵ However, this argument was not outweighed and the first claim becomes the basis of the public interest. Minding this, Will Kymlicka (1995) states that it will not be appropriate to pay salary for politicians if the private wealth was a prerequisite for disinterested public service.¹¹⁶

Brainstorm Questions

- Do you believe that an increase in salary will make politicians effectively discharge their duty and better serve the community?
- Who do you imagine involving in grand corruption activities: the lowest civil servant or the highest?

However, gradually people argue that paying salary for politicians will free them from private obligations which help them to be professional politicians. Accordingly, it will give politicians an incentive to develop their political skills and live ‘*for politics*’ and make them to successfully lead and act for public interest rather than their private matters. For example, Kymlicka states that, ‘*the best paid politician will serve best the public*’¹¹⁷, is the manifestation of this argument. Hence, the main tasks of citizens are to select rulers and the key issues of membership here is not just potential quality of citizens to rule; rather the quality to vote and to evaluate the suitability of others for public office. But, this view is also criticized since citizen’s vote can be self-interested and possibly short-sighted.

The property ownership right of a qualified citizen is also assumed to be the base for achieving the long-term interest of the wider community.¹¹⁸ If property is a poor guide in which citizens interest are tied to the wider political community, the property ownership rights of a qualified citizen develops a long-term commitment and becomes appropriate for the wider community. More importantly, citizens can influence their state’s future by their decisions. However, in a globalized

¹¹⁵Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship: A liberal theory of Minority Rights*. New York : Oxford University Press .

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ Ibid

¹¹⁸Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies*. London: Sage Publications.

world where a key asset of economy owned by foreign investors, the link between the properties ownership rights of citizens and public interest were contentious. This is due to the concern whether the owners of the private property (especially foreign investors) are worthwhile for fellow citizens as I try to state on the basic qualities of an effective citizen of a household.

The other critical issue that rose under property and properties of citizenship is the issues of those nationals who reside outside the territorial border of a given political community or state. Practically, regardless of the nature of a state, all citizens that reside under the territorial boundary of a given state can be affected by all state policies, laws and institutions. This in fact legitimately put citizens with a defined duty they fulfill and rights that they enjoy as citizens of a state. But, when we see those nationals who reside outside the territorial boundary of a state, they less likely discharge the duties and do not be affected by state policies and institutions as domestic citizens can do. Hence, it will be very challenging to align the interest of those non-resident nationals with the interest of the general public or the state. No matter how individual citizens are expected align their interest with the state, the most tangible sign of willingness to align one's interests with the state was military services. Rather than creating a professional army which will potentially dominate the interest of the ruled, a mass citizen's army is necessary to keep the interest of the ruled and check the rulers as complement to democracy.

4.2.2. Gender and the Feminist Critique of Citizenship

Feminist scholarship has criticized different democratic approaches to citizenship from a gender perspective. For example, the feminist argued that liberalism is based upon the public/private divide excluding mother-hood and care work from citizenship.¹¹⁹ Similarly, republicanism is also based upon a public/private divide which literally exclude women and issues of everyday life from the public dialogue.¹²⁰ Though, social democracy is also based upon social equality and on the universal citizen-worker model it also reproduced paternalism, because it is premised on a split between the citizen-worker and citizen-mother.¹²¹

¹¹⁹Voet, R. (1998). *Feminism and Citizenship*. Sage Publications, 35.

¹²⁰Ibid

¹²¹ Ibid

For a long period of time, the theories of feminism and citizenship have been seen as distinct areas in which scholars of both sides discuss and criticize the work of one to the other. However, in the recent past, scholars discuss and come up with the need to focus the debates around citizenship and feminism and advocates a unique feminist intervention into the sub-themes of citizenship including liberty, rights, social equality, political identity, political representation, and political judgment. For example, scholars like Rian Voet (1998) moves to develop a feminist notion of citizenship by critically discussing citizenship theories and sub-themes and identifying rudimentary feminist theories of citizenship.¹²²

Similarly, Isin also tries to state the feminist critique on the way citizenship has come to be defined and practiced in relation with women and their respective rights.¹²³ Accordingly, he states two strong and comprehensive criticisms of feminists against the practice of citizenship and related rights.¹²⁴

The first feminist criticism of citizenship lays on private domination of men on women in public practice of citizenship.¹²⁵ The past and present account of history tells us, women are taken as men's' personal dependents which manifested economically, socially and politically. The economic dependency was resulted from the man being the main 'bread-winner' and coming into possession of his wife's assets on marriage, even reinforced by coercion, including physical force that ranges up to rape. In fact, as we can see from different historical accounts and cultural justifications, women were unpaid workers domestically (at home especially) in name of wife or predominantly low paid, part timers in job. This literally makes them economically weak and dependent on men. When we see the social realm, women were culturally, religiously or traditionally linked with the inefficient, immorality, sin and less of human as compared to men.¹²⁶ This leads to social and cultural segregations of women specially from presenting themselves in

¹²²Ibid

¹²³Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies*. London: Sage Publications.

¹²⁴ Ibid

¹²⁵Voet, R. (1998). *Feminism and Citizenship*. Sage Publications, 35.

¹²⁶Ibid

public spheres. Women were also politically unrepresented or less represented and given less room to vote and be elected to assume public positions.¹²⁷

The second criticism lays on the masculinity of the qualities of citizenship. According to the feminist's argument, as Isin tries to state about, citizenship approach for politics is masculine in which men get a favorable condition than women's.¹²⁸ This is due to the reason that child care, cooking, house cleaning and home activities are only considered as the duty of women'. Hence, women are overburdened by domestic family responsibilities which citizenship were less concerned about and this makes them incompatible with the public political workplace in which the qualities of citizenship were more determined. More than this, women have been viewed as unsuited to citizenship on the grounds that they are too emotional-ruled by their passions rather than reason, and liable to be partial to those for whom they feel particular attachments rather than acting impartially.¹²⁹

The basic questions of feminists especially concerning on the public sphere of citizenship are how this situation can be altered. The key change in this regard has been the recognition that giving women the personal freedom in the private sphere necessary for them to be able to participate on an equal basis to others is in fact a public matter. Basically, it results from putting in place a fair system of public rules and collective policies that encourage the sharing of domestic tasks that does not discriminate against individuals taking on caring roles for children or the elderly and so on.

4.2.3. Nationality, Ethnicity, and Multiculturalism

The more progressive realization of an inclusive citizenship requires a publicly supported democratic welfare systems that best harmonizes and pave the way for nation building. The nation building process has an alleged contribution for development of citizenship especially by creating solidarity and trust among citizens to frame and sustain collective policies. Solidarity and trust are vital to any cooperative endeavor and are mutually reinforcing. Likewise, Welfare system and

¹²⁷ Ibid

¹²⁸ Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies*. London: Sage Publications.

¹²⁹ Ibid

welfares depend on the ‘haves’ showing solidarity towards the ‘have-nots’ and trust in the former doing their best to improve the conditions of the latter and, if successful, to shoulder a part of the burden in their turn. Finally, making collective decisions assumes common institutions, customs, and discourses that all involved agree are legitimate and can employ.

4.2.3.1. Nationalism

Nationalism is a multi-dimensional concept which can be reflected through the communal or group identification with one's cultural, social economic and political association called nation.¹³⁰ But with the development of politics, nationalism resembled a political ideology that intended to achieve one's demand for self-identification, self-governance and full sovereignty over territory of a group which literally called ‘home-land’. Hence, nationalism holds nations which govern itself, free from unwanted outside interference and linked with the concept of self-determination. Beyond this, nationalism is further oriented towards developing and maintaining a national identity based on shared characteristics such as culture, language, race, religion, political goals or a belief in a common ancestry.¹³¹ Accordingly, nationalism not only seeks to preserve the nations’ culture, but also involves a sense of pride in the nation's achievements and is closely linked to the concept of patriotic feeling and commitments to one’s nation and country.¹³²

Nationalism has a significant relevance for fostering solidarity and trust by creating a common identity that draws on a shared culture, history, and language. These common identities create a bond between peoples and enable them to cooperate with each other. This is due to the fact that peoples find easier to engage with and trust to whom they regard as similar with them. By default, democracy and welfare system works or involves in such nationalist society with trust and solidarity. This shared identity and political tradition greatly facilitate communication and decision making, making it easier for all participants on equal term which will further helps to reduce the

¹³⁰Triandafyllidou, A. (1998). National identity and the other. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* , 593-619.

¹³¹Triandafyllidou, A. (1998). National identity and the other. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* , 593-619.

¹³² Naim, P. J. (2005). *Global Matrix: Nationalism, Globalism and State-State-Terrorism* . Pluto Press and James, P. (2006). *Globalism, Nationalism, Tribalism: Bringing thoery back towards a thoery of abstract community* . Sage Publication.

scope of miss-understanding or incompatibility clashes. This in turn helps to facilitate the equal enjoyments of citizenship rights and share its duties.

However, most of the world states are full of diversified groups either culturally, linguistically, genetically, socially, economically or politically. This diversification become the first challenges for the process of creating national solidarity and trust among themselves-hence it affects the equal enjoyment of citizenship rights and equal sharing of citizenship duties. Helbling states that nation-state building which is assumed to be the base for creating solidarity and trust, involved some or all of the following: genocide, forced mass-population transfers, coerced assimilation, and domination and control by the ruling group.¹³³ Hence, nationalism, if not well managed, will become the source of genocide, mass murder, displacement and forceful eviction as we can see in some African states like the case of Rwanda, Sudan and Mali.¹³⁴

So, how can a given state able to advocates about nationalism and establish nation-states in acceptable and non-violent way? Some scholars argue that common nationality did not require establishing unilingual and cultural society, rather it tries to establish common understanding and solidarity that make possible to accommodate these differences that exist among different societies. For example, Isin tries to states the following basic points that able to accommodate ethnic diversity and make diversity possible in nation-building process:-

1. *When people interact each other effectively, some common structures are necessary and will be established.¹³⁵ This common structure will raise the broad acceptance of the existing legal and political systems and institutions; if not it will be necessary to have measures for changing or correcting these institutions.¹³⁶*
2. *citizens must have a desire to engage with co-citizens on equal terms and to frame common laws and policies which shall be consistent with all citizens to give their*

¹³³ Ibid

¹³⁴Bennett, J. (2000). Forced relocation in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi: emerging policy. *Forced Migration Review*, 7, 27-30.

¹³⁵Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies* . London: Sage Publications.

¹³⁶ Ibid

*allegiance to the state by having some knowledge and of its political, historical, economic, social, and institutional situations of his/her own state.*¹³⁷

Accordingly, Isin argues, this situation will totally help to establish common national citizenship which appreciate cultural differences and develops sensibilities of its members.¹³⁸

4.2.3.2. Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is a term used to describe the existence of multiple cultural traditions, usually considered in terms of the culture associated with an aboriginal ethnic groups and foreigner ethnic groups, within a single country.¹³⁹ However, the idea of multiculturalism in contemporary political discourse and in political philosophy is about how to understand and respond to the challenges associated with cultural and religious diversity. The term multicultural is often used as a descriptive term to characterize the fact of diversity in a society. While the term has come to encompass a variety of prescriptive claims, it is fair to say that proponents of multiculturalism reject the ideal of the “melting pot” in which members of minority groups are expected to assimilate into the dominant culture in favor of an ideal in which members of minority groups can maintain their collective identities and practices.¹⁴⁰ In the case of immigrants, proponents emphasize that multiculturalism is compatible with, not opposed to, the integration of immigrants into society; multiculturalism policies provide fairer terms of integration for immigrants.¹⁴¹

The term multiculturalism, however, has not been used only to describe a culturally diverse society, but also to refer to a kind of policy that aims at protecting cultural diversity. Usually, such kinds of policies have arisen as responses to fears of growing multicultural unrest and violence and concerns over rising rates of immigration.¹⁴² According to Barry, multiculturalism as policy approach has two main characteristics.¹⁴³

¹³⁷ Ibid

¹³⁸ Ibid

¹³⁹ Kramsch Claire, L. D. (2011). *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism*. Archives contemporaines

¹⁴⁰ Burgess, A. C. (2005). *Gude to Western Canada* . Globe Pequot Press.

¹⁴¹ Cotter, A.-M. M. (2011). *Culture clash: an international legal perspective on ethnic discrimination* . Ashgate : Ashgate Publishing press .

¹⁴² Ibid

¹⁴³ Barry, B. (2001). *Culture and equality: an egalitarian critique of multiculturalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- The first is to maintain to address the different demands of cultural groups and address the different normative challenge that arises from cultural diversities-minorities groups, aborigines, and women and so on. According to this approach, multicultural policies are concerned with redistribution resources and correction of the disadvantaged groups.
- The second approach aims to provide opportunities and means to peruse their cultural differences. This approach helps for minorities to overcome certain disadvantages, from state support for cultural activities, including the funding of religious schools, cultural ceremonies, and the acceptance of their symbolic expressions. This can be done through devolution of certain self-government rights to national minorities and/or giving special representation in public bodies.

The very essence of such policies is to render the notion of a common national citizenship which is more inclusive, creating a sense of belonging among the very diverse groups that make up modern societies. Minding this, Isin states that the multicultural policy is to create a kind of citizen who cultured mutual acceptable norms of political cooperation that better reflect their civic equality.¹⁴⁴

However, there is a strong argument against these accommodation policy approaches of multiculturalism. The assumption here is that there must be a limit to how much accommodation is possible when minority practices are deemed to infringe human rights. In this case, a potential tension exists between the maintenance of certain traditional practices and protecting the opportunity for children, and particularly women, to choose whether they abide by traditional norms or adapt or even drop them altogether, exploring instead the wider possibilities open to them in the broader community.¹⁴⁵ These tensions have been resolved in different ways in different countries, but the sign of a commitment to common citizenship derives from all affected parties seeking solutions that are capable of being justified in mutually acceptable terms. In these ways, a national citizenship ceases to be something imposed by a dominant group on others but a shared civic project, involving a degree of compromise and adaptation on all sides.

¹⁴⁴Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies* . London: Sage Publications.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid

4.2.3.3. Cultural Citizenship

The historical practice of citizenship, until recent period of time, has been quite different and independent from cultural issues and conflicts over identity. More importantly, the concept and practice of citizenship has been historically formed around civic, political and social rights rather than culture. Citizenship on the whole pertained to the national citizenship of an established polity and was generally defined by birth or in some cases by descent, while multicultural policies served to manage in-coming migrant groups.¹⁴⁶

However, the political discourse of the recent world results in a strong and overlapping confluence between culture and citizenship. This political discourse strongly underlines the need of establishing psychological, ideological and social link across different groups of communities through a sense of common belonging, a reciprocal recognition and shared experiences of daily life.¹⁴⁷ Even the migrant groups have become more and more a part of the mainstream population and cannot be so easily contained by multicultural policies if not those migrants are connected psychologically and ideologically with native people.¹⁴⁸ In fact, the ‘native’ population of almost all or most states of the world itself has become more and more culturally plural, due in part to the impact of some four decades of ethnic mixing, but also due to the general pluralization brought about by post-industrial and post-modern period.¹⁴⁹ Hence, the concept and practice of cultural citizenship become more important and influential especially in those states which have a diversified cultural identity and large number of migrant.

The concept of cultural citizenship incorporates the practice and policy approach of developing an integrative belongingness in language, literature, education, art, religion, and additional facets of culture.¹⁵⁰ In fact cultural citizenship does not replace legal or political concepts of citizenship instead; cultural citizenship works in tandem with legal and political notions of citizenship to

¹⁴⁶Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship: A liberal theory of Minority Rights*. New York : Oxford University Press .

¹⁴⁷William; Brown, David; Ward, Brian; Bone, Martyn (2013). *Creating Citizenship in the Nineteenth-Century South*. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press. p. 5

¹⁴⁸Turner, E. F. (2002). *Hand book of Citizenship studies*. London: Sage Publications.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid

¹⁵⁰William; Brown, David; Ward, Brian; Bone, Martyn (2013). *Creating Citizenship in the Nineteenth-Century South*. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press. p. 5

create a comprehensive understanding of how individuals identify themselves and their own belonging within a community or nation state. When political notion of citizenship restricts people with geographical boundaries and political entities, cultural citizenship facilitates shared aspects of cultural belonging and citizenship on a global scale.

4.3. From Alien to Citizen: The External Dimension of Exclusion

Brainstorm Questions

- What comes to your mind when we say Alien?
- What kinds of basic difference does Alien have from citizen?
- What kinds of basic alternatives shall be put in place to defend the rights of Aliens?

The senses of belongings and membership for individuals who acquire nationality through blood integrate individuals and help them to have a trust worthy integration with the political, social and cultural community of a given state. Not only those individuals who do have direct blood relation with a given political system, an individual who attain citizenship through naturalization has better social, cultural, economic and political integration with political community of a state. The problem, dis-agreement and conflicts arise from the social, economic and political case may not be as worse as we compare with contradiction that arose between nationals and non-nationals of a given state.

However, as the rights of citizens and citizenship rights had a territorial limitation and identification of its nationals outside the state, it complicates the life of those individuals who migrated from abroad. These group of people who come from the other and live outside of their ‘home-state’ are referred to as emigrant, refugee, alien or foreigner to connote them as external to the political community where they live in.

As citizenship is a process of developing and guaranteeing the legitimate existence and recognition of individuals and groups of peoples in a given political community, there must be an integrative system of citizenship that able to protect and defend the rights of emigrants. This approach of

citizenship is able to develop an integrative approach for the rights of citizenship transnationally. Accordingly, under this sub-topic we will see the rights of emigrants and their status and place of citizenship rights.

4.3.1. Transnational Citizenship

As we have discussed above, the national citizenship refers to the individual's rights and protection in a given sovereign state within predefined territorial boundary. However, with the coming of globalization and transnational corporations, the notions of citizenship were redefined and replaced from an individual's singular national loyalties to the ability to belong to multiple nation states which can be visible in the political, cultural, social and economic realms.¹⁵¹ Accordingly, the notion of transnational citizenship transcends pre-established territorial boundaries of states in order to create a modern meaning of 'belonging' in an increasingly globalized society that able to increase the individual's ability to civically engage in a multiple society across the globe.

The identity of a transnational citizen is not limited to certain community of a given state. Rather, the social and individual forms of belonging of transnational citizens are marked by multiple identities and allegiances, and often travel between two or more than two countries, all in which they created sizeable networks of differing functions.¹⁵² Like the global or cosmopolitan citizenship, the transnational citizenship composed of cross-national and multi-layered memberships to a given society that aimed to replace the sense of membership of individuals from one sole nation-state to a new global framework that consists of subgroups of national identities. The assumption in transnational citizenship is to loosen the ties between territories and citizenship that will further make states as intermediaries between the local and global.¹⁵³ Hence, this situation and new conception of citizenship will incorporate all nations of the world equally, including the emigrants and refugees under the protection by integrating them with the idea of citizenship.

The evolution of the concept of transnational citizenship was attributed to the rising situation of globalization which heightened the international access to the world's market system and increased

¹⁵¹Jackson, R. (2003). International Perspectives on citizenship, education and religious diversity . *Routledge Press*.

¹⁵² Ibid

¹⁵³Ciput, J. V. (2008). The future of citizenship . *Cambridge: MIT Press* .

abilities of rapid forms of communication.¹⁵⁴ Accordingly, globalization had been assumed to be the transformer of a confined geo-political system in to one that relies heavily on multiple levels of local, national and global interactions and communication that able to interconnect societies from all corners of the globe. This rapid communication and interaction of the global society needs to break territorial limitation of the concept of national citizenship and then latter transformed it to the boundless belongingness of the global community that initiated and advocated by the transnational citizenship.

Moreover, globalization also paves the way for an increased interpersonal communication and international migrations to legally and illegally cross different states and territorial boundaries. This interpersonal communication cross states and international migration contribute to the opportunity of escalating and developing transnational and multicultural identity. More importantly, as the international immigration contributes to loosening individual-state ties, immigrants form social network with the individuals or native residents of the host state which further enhances the notion of that international migrant act as transnational citizens in multiple places.

Though transnational citizenship seems like multiculturalism and cosmopolitan citizenship, transnational citizenship differs from cosmopolitan or multicultural approach of citizenship in many respects. While transnational citizenship tries to fuse the cultural and societal elements of their home countries with culture, social values and tradition of the host country, multiculturalism results from the fusion of different cultural values, traditions and norms of ethnic minorities with the majority on a micro scale of a particular local environment.

4.3.2. Membership and Rights in Transnational Migration

The assumption that people will live their lives in one place where they culturally, socially and politically belong is no longer always true. Rather, more and more people will leave their home states to other state and adopt one or more cultures that make them belong to two or more societies at the same time. This process is said to be transnational migration. Transnational migrants work

¹⁵⁴Baubock, R. (2003). Towards a Political thoery of migrant transnationalism . *The International Migration Review*.

and express their political interests in several contexts rather than in a single nation-state. Some will put down roots in a host country, maintain strong homeland ties, and belong to religious and political movements that span the globe.

As increasing numbers of migrant's live parts of their social and economic lives across national boundaries, the question is no longer whether this is good or bad, but rather, how to ensure they are protected, represented, and that they contribute something in return. When migrants live their lives across national borders, they challenge many long-held assumptions about membership, development, and equity. Once a rare phenomenon, multiple state membership and multinational citizenship has become almost commonplace with the rise in transnational mobility. The focus lies on the perceptions, attitudes, experiences and views on membership and participation of people with dual/multiple citizenship and individuals with multinational background who hold a single citizenship.

4.3.3. Citizenship and Migration

As we have said here and there, the very essence of citizenship is firmly rooted and limited to the rights and duties defined and realized within a bounded national political and social system which is often based on a shared ethnic and cultural identity of a given society.¹⁵⁵ However, in case of migration, peoples traveled across the national boundaries of states from their home-state, the very essence of citizenship, protecting the right citizens, the attempt to share duties equally and getting the necessary equal protection, had been challenged by one or other ways.¹⁵⁶

Accordingly, many peoples live in states where their citizenship rights are denied. As result, they did not have political, social and other citizenship rights in the society where they are hosted. Due to this effect, many people who are hosted abroad will be subjected for different human rights abuses, discrimination and social, political and economic isolations. Sometimes peoples are forcefully evicted and deported to their home-state without their consent. For example, in a very recent period around 150,000 Ethiopian, 40,000 Somalis and 500,000 Syrians were forcefully

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

evicted and deported from Saudi Arabia as stated under the report of Global Detention Project.¹⁵⁷ In this case, different scholars, like Marinade Regt and Medareshaw Tafesse argued that the national concept of citizenship shall be defined in a way that can integrate and protect the rights of those emigrants and refugees by decoupling citizenship status from the ethnic or cultural identity that able to promote and establish social welfare.¹⁵⁸

4.3.4. On the Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents and Citizens

It is obvious that defined state boundary and sovereignty are among the basic elements for the existence of states. However, sovereignty stalwarts and the sanctity of borders of states are the basic challenges for the universal enforcement of human rights across different states of the world. Specially, the problem further complicated the rights of migrants, asylum seekers, residents and Aliens who leave their ‘homes states’ and host in ‘other states’. As regard, those groups of people who leave their home state and host in the other states are referred as ‘other people’.¹⁵⁹ Likely, the ‘rights of others’ refers about the rights of those groups of people who host in the ‘other states’ out of their ‘home state’. Hence, the ‘rights of others’ refers about the rights of those migrants, aliens, asylum seekers and residents.

The ‘rights of others’ used to examine the boundaries of political community by focusing on political membership - the principles and practices for incorporating aliens and strangers, immigrants and new-comers, refugees and asylum seekers into existing policies.¹⁶⁰ But, the political sovereignty of states infringed on the definition of political membership and national citizenship to incorporate and integrate these strangers, immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers. The solo objective of the rights of others is to check the porous boundaries, recognizing both the admittance rights of refugees and asylum seekers, and also to endorse the regulatory rights of democracies as a major intervention in contemporary political theory for the rights of such groups.

¹⁵⁷ Project, g. D. (2006). *Immigration Detention in Saudi Arabia*. Geneva: Oben Society Foundation and Tafesse, M. D. (2015). *Deported before experiancing the good sides of migration: Ethiopians returning from Saudi Arabia*. Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology.

¹⁵⁸ Tafesse, M. D. (2015). *Deported before experiancing the good sides of migration: Ethiopians returning from Saudi Arabia*. Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology.

¹⁵⁹ Benhabib, S. (2005). The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents and Citizens. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 235-265.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid

Accordingly, human rights activists and citizenship theorists are disappointed about exclusive political borders in the rights of others.¹⁶¹ The human rights activist points out that the exclusion of refugees and migrants from democratic processes are not ethically defensible. Also, some scholars began to argue that democratic legitimacy of states shall be granted depending on the status and protection of political membership of refugees and other migrants in their host states.¹⁶² For example, Benhabib argues for the need of universal protection and integration of the rights of others (taken from Immanuel Kant's right of universal hospitality) and states about the importance of universal norm of equal treatment and real equality being embedded within particular communities.¹⁶³ She tries to advocate that the real equality comes from membership in political community that recognizes equality which makes states have a pragmatic necessity for its realization and this in turn helps to develop a stronger moral claim to those rights in virtue of common humanity.

4.3.5. Cosmopolitan Citizenship

Cosmopolitanism is the ideology which advocates that all human beings belong to a single community which has a shared morality. Hence, a cosmopolitan community might be based on an inclusive morality, a shared economic relationship, or a political structure that encompasses different nations in which an individuals from different community form relationships of mutual respect.¹⁶⁴ More importantly, the complex of territorial understanding and division of citizenship rights in a national regime were considered as a threat and hence that scholars considered cosmopolitanism as a suitable ideological framework to accommodate the threat of national citizenship regimes.¹⁶⁵ In fact, the very essential reason for the introduction of the idea of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan citizenship was to enhance different regional, international and Multi-national Corporation throughout the globe.¹⁶⁶ For example, the cosmopolitan citizenship in Europe was used to enhance the European Union's viability, legitimacy and integrative capacity.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ Ibid

¹⁶² Ibid

¹⁶³ Ibid

¹⁶⁴ Appiah, K. A. (1997). Cosmopolitan Patriots . *Critical Inquiry* , 617-639.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid

¹⁶⁶ Ibid

¹⁶⁷ Bowden, B. (2003). The perils of global citizenship . *citizenship studies* .

The idea of cosmopolitanism is depicted as the expression of a post-national multiculturalist model of political community, which preserves national and also facilitates global, regional and municipal locus of legal status and political membership.¹⁶⁸ Accordingly, a cosmopolitan citizen who is empowered in a global civic society was enabled to shape the political future and socio-cultural facet of the community. In regard to this, Immanuel Kant (1784) argues that the cosmopolitan theorem was important especially for building world peace by eliminating the possibility of war, establish a cosmopolitan law which will regulate the interaction of individuals of one state with individuals of another state, and develop a universal hospitality through legal and universal right.¹⁶⁹ But, for Kant this importance of the cosmopolitan concept of citizenship were purely based on building an international ethical standards and principles. However, this may not be effective especially in establishing strong and inclusive institutional and legal world order.

However, contemporary conditionality of cosmopolitan citizenship goes beyond the Kantian theorem of global ethics and tries to incorporate a more comprehensive and an entrenched democratic institution outside the boundary of a given national state. Hence, a contemporary cosmopolitan citizenship demands an active membership to a global community that can actively participate in global issues such as human rights, environment, transnational emigration, terrorism and poverty by representing individuals in global affairs, institutions and organizational systems.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸Brodie, J. (2004). Introduction: globalization and citizenship beyond the national state. *citizenship studies and*
Falk, R. (2000). The decline of citizenship in an era of globalization . *citizenship studies* .

¹⁶⁹Kant, I. (1784). Idea for a universal history with a cosmopolitan purpose. *The cosmopolitanism reader*, 17-26.

¹⁷⁰Ibid

4.4. Chapter Summary

Membership and belongingness as the basic needs of human beings is a process of being legitimate or acceptable members of a groups or political community. It is a fundamental human motivation that leads to sever consequence (like exclusion, statelessness and discrimination) from not beings member or belong to certain political community. As a regard, membership and belongingness is necessary and unavoidable demands of individuals. The demands of human beings to belong to certain social, economic and political community lead them to a continuous political, social and economic struggle of different group like slaves, women, tenants, indigenous groups, minorities, migrants etc. This struggle for membership and inclusion at the center of citizenship can be seen in to two broad categories-internal and external dimensions of inclusion and exclusion.

The internal dimension of membership and inclusion is concerned on group or individuals struggle against any kinds of discrimination and exclusion on domestic matters such as property and property ownership rights, gender and gender related discrimination, nationality, ethnicity and culture-based discrimination and exclusions. Owning property and struggle for it rose from the demand of mankind to have self-governing power for their own property and property of life. The need to property and the right to have self-governing power on one's own property and property of life is to create a self-efficient household that actively involved in public decision making power and able to affect the economic system of the public as a whole. On the other hand, as many of the traditional attributes of citizenship have been associated with male roles, the situation had produced a two-sided feminist critique of the way citizenship has come to be defined and practiced. The first criticism is rested on men-women relation as the public practice of citizenship had rested on private domination of women that takes away their economic rights and limited them to domestic activities. The second criticism directs concerning on the limited or an insignificant participation and representation of women's in the public (political) decision making process. Lastly, nationality and nation building in democratic welfare systems helps to develop solidarity and trust among individuals and groups which further strengthens consolidate practice of citizenship and citizenship rights in a given political system.

On the other hand, when ethnicity and the existence of cultural diversity complicate the practice of citizenship and citizenship rights by dividing in to more local and specific moral communal groups, multiculturalism is used to understand and respond to the challenges associated with cultural and religious diversity. Multiculturalism also refers about the kind of policy that aimed to protect and manage cultural diversities including the redistribution of resources and correction of the past injustices.

The external dimension of membership and belongingness under the practice of citizenship and citizenship rights is concerned on the rights and place of emigrants abroad from their home state. The membership criteria for offering admission for immigrants would reflect civic duty. However, states alienate immigrants' communities from native-born citizens which exacerbate social tension and further put them under refugee camps. More specifically, because the criteria of acquiring citizenship are more exclusionary and racist, it limits immigrant's membership claim to the political community of the host state. However, as an alternative solution for this, most activists and migrant right rallies seeks to define citizenship in terms of universal human rights. This approach practically and normatively helps to achieve national membership of immigrants to the state.

Chapter End Questions

I. Write true if the statement is correct and false if the statement is incorrect

1. Recent cosmopolitan idea of citizenship contradicts with the Imperial Rome notion of “legal citizenship” and Greek conception of “political citizenship”.
2. There is a possible conflict between being citizen to a particular political community and upholding rights in that states.
3. The demand to be citizen means that citizens ought to have the positive and institutional rights to be peoples of moral and human right.
4. When citizenship used to establish national polity, multiculturalism policies served to manage in-coming migrant groups.
5. Membership and belongingness is the process of beings a legitimate or acceptable member of a group or political community.

II. Choose the best answer from the given alternatives

1. Which of the following is statement is wrong regarding with the advantage and result of solidarity and trust in a given society?
 - A. It makes individuals to play their own role to develop an accommodative society
 - B. Used to develop common institutions, norms and values
 - C. Individuals will easily trust institutions and associations
 - D. It helps to create a majority which accommodate the rights of minorities
 - E. None
2. Which of the following is wrong about the guardian of citizenship?
 - A. The rule by the peoples is does not give fair and equal protection.
 - B. It would be better if peoples did not directly participate in ruling themselves.
 - C. The specially selected guardian has better trust than direct popular rule.
 - D. All
 - E. None
3. Which of the following points will not be lodged during an accommodative nation-building process?
 - A. Gender difference
 - B. Ethic difference
 - C. Nationality of individuals

- D. Cultural diversity
 - E. None of the above
4. Which of the following is wrong regarding with the property and properties of citizenship?
- A. Citizens must have a self-governing power for their property and life
 - B. Citizens need to have protection through institutional and policy approach
 - C. There must be self-efficient citizens
 - D. Household are the passive components of the economy
 - E. None
5. Which of the following is not correct regarding with multiculturalism under citizenship?
- A. Is used to describe the existence of multiple cultural tradition
 - B. Used to understand and respond to challenges of cultural and religious diversity
 - C. It refers a kind of policy that aimed to protect and manage cultural diversity
 - D. Helps to redistribute resources and correct past injustice
 - E. None
6. Which of the following is wrong regarding with membership and belongingness?
- A. Membership and belongingness is unavoidable
 - B. Citizenship is the central idea for membership and belongingness
 - C. The sense of membership and belongingness literally demands legal recognition
 - D. The need to belong is for the purpose of getting personal security and protection
 - E. None
7. Which of the following is correct regarding with the feminist critics citizenship?
- A. Argues that the economy rights of women's are taken away
 - B. Women were forced to limit their activity to domestic matters
 - C. Women's are lost to participate and represent equally in political decision making rights
 - D. The public practice of citizenship is practice through private domination of women.
 - E. All
8. Which of the following is not the basic concern of citizenship internally?
- A. The rights of immigrants
 - B. Property and property rights of citizens
 - C. Gender discrimination and rights of women's

- D. Cultural rights and culture-based discriminations
 - E. Nationalism and nation building
9. Which of the following is valid regarding with nationality and nation building process under citizenship?
- A. National building fosters the rights of citizens
 - B. An effective protection of the rights of citizens can promote the process of nation building
 - C. Nationalism is an engine to fuel citizenship and citizenship rights
 - D. All of the above
 - E. None
10. Which of the following point cannot be taken as the challenge for immigrants to acquire citizenship of the host state?
- A. States limit the admission of immigrant's membership claim
 - B. States and political agents of states link immigrant's community with terrorists
 - C. States seeks to define citizenship in terms of universal human rights for immigrants
 - D. Because states favor immigrants based on their cultural and religious affiliation
 - E. States discriminate and alienate immigrant community from native born citizens

III. Give short answer for the following question

1. Discuss briefly what transnational citizenship means and its importance for immigrants?
2. Discusses briefly what cosmopolitan citizenship mean is basic difference from transnational citizenship?

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CHAPTER FIVE

CITIZENSHIP IN ETHIOPIA

Introduction

In Ethiopia, studying about citizenship and rights of citizens is not such simple and easy task as it lacks records and accounts that can possibly use as evidence. However, as the basis of citizenship and citizenship rights is membership and belongingness to a political community, it becomes a while since political community/state began to establish in Ethiopia. Hence, the study of citizenship in Ethiopia goes along with the study of states formation and nation building. However, the lack of clear historical record regarding with the history of state formation in Ethiopia complicated the history citizenship and citizenship studies.

But, with standing the handed historical records of state formation, we can study citizenship and rights of citizens throughout the practice of state and nation building of Ethiopia. Accordingly, this chapter tries to study about citizenship by categorizing the history of Ethiopia in four periods by considering the nature and level of development politics, nation building process concept of citizenship. The first period encompasses the history of state formation before the period Haile Selassie which was considered as the period of state formation and nation building process in Ethiopia. The second period concerned about the Imperial Period of Emperor Haile Selassie which was referred as the period of consolidation and modernization in Ethiopia politics and nation building. The third is the Period of Derge regime which was taken as the period of ‘Ethiopian socialism’. The Last is the period of federalism in which accentuate self- governance and regionalism in Ethiopia.

Lastly, this chapter also tries to made general assessment and discussion regarding with approach and place of dual citizenship in Ethiopia. In addition, this chapter also deals about the conditions and possibilities of statelessness in Ethiopia in light with the national constitution and nationality law of the country.

Chapter objectives

The chapter has the following objectives: -

- Discuss history of citizenship in Ethiopia.
- Describe the practice and nature of citizenship and citizenship rights of the Imperial Period.
- Inspect law and practice of citizenship of the Imperial period.
- Explain the nature and practice of citizenship and citizenship rights in Period of Derge.
- Elucidate the Practice and nature of citizenship and citizenship rights of the Period of EPRDF.
- Demonstrate the development of citizenship in Ethiopia.
- Explain various forms and ways of acquiring and losing Ethiopian citizenship.
- Discuss the place of dual citizenship and condition of statelessness in Ethiopia.

5.1. Citizenship in Ethiopia: Longer View**Brainstorm Questions**

- When do you imagine that citizenship in Ethiopia was started?
- Do have basic information about the history of Ethiopian state formation?
- Do you think that state formation have direct relation with history of citizenship in Ethiopia?

The concept of citizenship goes along with the history of state formation and nation building (though not necessarily a single nation) process of a country.¹⁷¹ This is due to the fact that nations and nationalism exists when individual citizen share enough values and preference and can communicate with each other as they belong to a given political community called state.¹⁷² Thus, citizens are also the people who compose the political community, and who, in their associational capacities, have established and submitted themselves to the dominion of a government for the

¹⁷¹Reich, A. A. (2015). Nation Building . *Harvard and IDIER Bocconi Press*

¹⁷²Ibid

promotion of their general welfare and the protection of their individual as well as collective rights. Likely the history of citizenship in Ethiopia linked with the attempt and the move for modern state formation and establishment citizens who permanently reside under the political territory of a given modern state. In fact, the statehood history of Ethiopia is trace backed to more than 3000 years back to the period of P'unt and D'am'at civilization along with the most dominant Christian kingdom of Aksumite civilization of the late 4th century BC. But Aksumite civilization was not originated as one strong central administration rather developed as a trading empire exercised its influence on the trade activity from the shores of the Gulf of Aden to Zeila.¹⁷³ The Aksumite society, arguably as advanced as western society, was organized hierarchically with a king at the top, then nobles, and the general population below including slaves and 'foreigners'.¹⁷⁴ The general population that resides at the bottom of the social order was subjects of the kings who own the military and all economic activities of the civilization.

The Aksumite civilization is not a single centralized political civilization; instead evidences indicate that it was divided into 10-12 small towns in the kingdom.¹⁷⁵ Hence, the civilization did not build a strong political community that able to establish its own nation legally and politically so that it can possibly identify and organizes members from the others.¹⁷⁶

After wards, the post period of Aksumite civilization (The Zagwe Dynasty), was literally considered as the reviving period of strong central political administration after the end of Aksumite civilization. Though it faces strong opposition from descendants of the Solomonic rule of Aksumite civilization as "not a true line of the king Solomon of Israel", it attempts to reconstruct political identity by making religious and military influence throughout the political domain of the Aksumite civilization.¹⁷⁷ However, a strong movement, coming from the "true descendant of the King Solomon of Israel", drove out the last Zagwe ruler which was taken as the revival of the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia.¹⁷⁸ This period had enlarged the political domain of Ethiopia and

¹⁷³Silberman, N. A. (2012). *The Oxford Companion to Archaeology* . Oxford Press .

¹⁷⁴G.Mokhtar. (1990). *UNESCO General History of Africa: Ancient Africa* . University of California Press, 221.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid

¹⁷⁶Marcus, H. G. (1994). *A history of Ethiopia*. University of California Press .

¹⁷⁷Ibid

¹⁷⁸ Ibid

ushered an increasing contact with the Levant, the Middle East and the Europe. Unsurprisingly, after the crushing of the economic sources and mass pressure of the Arab world, the power of the Christian kingdom was weakened down and disintegrated into more local and weak monarchs referred to the period of Zemene Mesafint that totally weakened the move to establish strong central government and unified nation.¹⁷⁹

Brainstorm Questions

- How could you understand nation building in Ethiopia?
- What are the basic features of nation building in Ethiopia?
- What kinds of relation do nation building and citizenship have?

The process of centralization of state power, which began since the reign of Emperor Tewodros II in the 1850s, marked the beginning of Ethiopia's nation building process.¹⁸⁰ This period is also the basic bench mark for the establishment and development of a nation which considered him/her as a group that legally belongs to an established political regime. Hence, the origin and development of citizenship in Ethiopia, as acceptable in the history of different states of the world, go along with the history of states formation which is attached to the reformist king of Ethiopia called Tewodros II. In fact, the nation building strategy employed by many of the Ethiopian rulers was mainly concerned with centralizing state power and conquering and expanding territory, which eventually gave the present-day Ethiopia's geographic and demographic shape.¹⁸¹ The whole state formation process of modern Ethiopia goes through the integration and incorporation of many

¹⁷⁹Ibid

¹⁸⁰Assefa, F. (2007). Federalism and the accomodation of diversity in Ethiopia: A comparative study. *Artistic printing enterprise* , 16.

¹⁸¹Beza, D. (2013). The rights of minorities to political participation under the Ethiopian electoral system . *Mizan Law* , 34. Moreover, even after the end of political and territorial expansion, the heterogenization of ethnic groups (even if not intentionally) continues in the period of the military regime when there was a program of resettlement and villagization. For instance, during the 1980s the military regime settled several thousand of the Amhara and Oromo peoples in the fertile lowlands of Metekel Zone of Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State, which directly or indirectly contribute for the heterogeneity of the regional population at least by two ethnic groups i.e. Amhara and Oromo.¹⁸¹

national groups in different corner of the country and makes them under the legal protection of the expanding states.¹⁸²

The southward expansion of the Ethiopian state, completed at the end of the 19th century under Menelik, led to a dramatic increase in the geographic size and ethnic heterogeneity of the country.¹⁸³ As the political expansion for state formations of the country comes from the north, their militaries and political chiefs settled in those new areas that lately incorporated to the main political administration system. During the Imperial period, there was also a mass movement of different groups especially from the dominant North for political and religious purpose to different areas of the country.

However, the process of state building by Tewodros II, Yohanes IV and Minilik II was simple expansion of the territorial boundary by integrating and incorporate different groups in to the monarchical authority rather than submitting them in to alien authority based on its legitimacy. Minding this, some scholars associate the formation of modern Ethiopian state with the period of Emperor Haile Selassie I when the Westphalian model of state organization was spreading through-out the world since 1948. For example, Edmond J. Keller states that in this period, state boundaries become fixed and acceptable legally, state leader made an effort to instill their subjects as a sense of belonging collectively to a single nation.¹⁸⁴ Accordingly, this period had also made a significant contribution for the establishment and development of the modern sense of citizenship and belongings in Ethiopian history.

¹⁸²Marcus, H. G. (1994). A history of Ethiopia. *University of California Press* .

¹⁸³Alem, H. (2010). Ethnic federalism in Ethiopia: Background, present conditions and future prospects . *International symposium on contemporary development issues in Ethiopia* , 22.

¹⁸⁴ Edmond, K. (2005). Making and remaking state and nation in Ethiopia . *Boarders, Nationalism and the African states* , 87.

5.2. ETHIOPIAN CITIZENSHIP UNDER EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE

5.2.1. Introduction

Brainstorm Questions

- How nation building could look like in period of Haile Selassie?
- What kinds of political change and development did Emperor Haile Selassie brought to Ethiopia?
- How far citizenship did change and develop with the change and development of political system and nation building process in period of Emperor Haile Selassie?

After Menelik II and unsuccessful throne of his daughter Zewditu, Lij Iyasu was crown as King of Ethiopian under the regent administration of Ras Teferi Mekonen. Then latter, Ras Teferi Mekonnen assumed the political throne as ‘Haile Selassie I’ in 1930 and made governmental and social reforms in order to institute the process of modernization in the country. The period of Emperor Haile Selassie was a crucial period in Ethiopian history for consolidating the territorial and political gains which embarked the project of national integration that able to create citizens and citizenship rights.¹⁸⁵ As a compromising attempt between the force of centralism and regionalism, Emperor Haile Selassie made a significant reform when the 1931 constitution promulgated.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵Smith, L. (2013). Making Citizens in Africa: Ethnicity, Gender, and National Identity in Ethiopia. *African Studies*, 87.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid

Figure 1: - Ethiopia and its provincial administration since 1935



Source: - The government of Ethiopia. By Perham Margery. (New edition.) pp. xci, 531, 4 maps. London, Faber and Faber, 1969. £5.50. - Volume 103 Issue 1 - A. N. Allott.

The 1931 Constitution was the first secular constitution that attempted to define the relation between the crown and the ‘subjects’ by instituting political administrations and defining their power in a legal basis. It also plays a key role for the development and establishment of modern citizenship (though citizens were connoted as ‘subject’ of the imperial majesty) and belongingness by defining the territorial delimitation¹⁸⁷ and establishing a centralized political administration¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸⁷ The 1931 constitution of Ethiopia Article 1

¹⁸⁸ The 1931 constitution of Ethiopia Article 1&2

The process of establishing a modern citizenship and sense of belongings in the country were also further strengthen when the 1931 constitution recognized and guaranteed basic human rights (though it overwhelmed by corresponding duties) for ‘subjects’ under the monarchical administration which stated under a consecutive provision from article 18- 29. Accordingly, subjects of the imperial period were guaranteed basic human rights like the right of non-deprivation of one’s domicile against his/her will as stated under article 24 of the 1931 constitution of Ethiopia.¹⁸⁹ The constitution also enabled ‘subjects’ to have more professionalized judicial¹⁹⁰, budgetary¹⁹¹ and quasi-representative legislative¹⁹² institutions unlike the predecessor’s administration system.

After 24 years of enforcement, the 1931 constitution was amended in 1955 due to the number of reasons. Among all, social and economic change, the federation of Eritrea and growing pressure from the educated and intellectual people are considered as the major reasons for the amendment. The amended constitution came with a number of new statements in regard to the rights of Ethiopian nationals, better separation of power among organs of the government and relatively enacted by popularly elected legislature than the former.

Among the basic achievements, the 1955 constitution of the imperial regime dealt with the rights and duties of nationals in broader and significant way. Though it can’t be taken as a mirror copy of the U.S. constitution, people argue that the 1955 constitution of Ethiopia contains a number of ideas from the U.S. constitution, like separation of power, rights and duties of citizens.¹⁹³ It tries to specifically guarantee freedoms of speech and assembly¹⁹⁴, due process and religious freedom¹⁹⁵, freedom of movement¹⁹⁶ as well as civil and political rights¹⁹⁷. The 1955 constitution better guarantees basic human rights and freedom than its predecessors. Accordingly, these

¹⁸⁹ The 1931 constitution of Ethiopia Article 24

¹⁹⁰ The 1931 Constitution of Ethiopia Article 50-54

¹⁹¹ The 1931 constitution of Ethiopia Article 55

¹⁹² The 1931 constitution of Ethiopia Article 30-47

¹⁹³ Edmond, K. (2005). Making and remaking state and nation in Ethiopia . *Boarders, Nationalism and the African states* , 87.

¹⁹⁴ The 1955 constitution of Ethiopia article 41

¹⁹⁵ The 1955 constitution of Ethiopia article 37 and 40 respectively

¹⁹⁶ The 1955 constitution of Ethiopia article 46

¹⁹⁷ The 1955 constitution of Ethiopia article 37-43, 46-51, 54-58, 60 and 62

enabled individuals/ nationals to better protect and promote their interests from the national government.

5.2.2. The Imperial Constitutions and Citizenship

Brainstorm Questions

- Are you familiar with the Imperial Constitution of Ethiopia?
- What kinds of human rights do the imperial constitutions of Ethiopia incorporate under?
- Do the Imperial constitutions of Ethiopia incorporate directly citizenship and citizenship rights?
- What kinds of citizenship rights do the imperial constitution's guarantee for citizens?

Citizenship under the Imperial constitution of Ethiopia can be described in many ways. As per the 1931 constitution of Emperor Haile Selassie, individuals who are nationals/subjects of the imperial majesty were expected to be loyal and governed by the imperial rules. For example, article 19 of the 1931 constitution stipulates that:-

*All Ethiopian subjects, provided that they comply with the conditions laid down by law and the decree promulgated by the Emperor...*¹⁹⁸

Similarly, article 1 of the constitution also stipulates that “*the territory of Ethiopia, in its entirety, is, from one end to the other, subject to the government of his majesty the Emperor*”.¹⁹⁹ As the power of the emperor is unquestionable and the decision is irreversible, nationals/subjects were expected to obey it and act accordingly.

In addition to this, citizenship under the 1931 constitution was also demonstrated with the capability of national/subjects to fulfill responsibilities and duties to the Imperial majesty. Even rights recognized under the 1931 constitution of the imperial majesty were handed over by the

¹⁹⁸ The 1931 constitution of Ethiopia article 19

¹⁹⁹ The 1931 constitution of Ethiopia article 1

unquestionable power of the emperor and his system of administration. More importantly, these rights recognized under the constitution were stated as duty bestowed upon subjects as rights.

After the 1931 constitution was amended in 1955, the amended constitution contains an important provision regarding to citizenship and citizenship rights. For example, article 1 of the constitution states specifies that “*all Ethiopian subjects, whether living within or out the Empire constitutes the Ethiopian peoples*”.²⁰⁰ In addition to this, the revised constitution of Ethiopia also states about the rights of non-extradition and non-banishment of Ethiopian subjects from the country. For example, Article 49 of the revised constitution stipulates that “*no Ethiopian subject may be banished from the Empire*”.²⁰¹ Similarly, article 50 specifies that “*no Ethiopian subject may be extradited to a foreign country*”.²⁰²

However, as specific provisions and issues regarding to citizenship are stated under the 1930 nationality proclamation, the 1955 constitution did not specify the ways of acquiring and losing Ethiopian citizenship. Rather, the constitution tries to integrate the basic right (as stated under 5.2.1. above) and specific citizenship provision which did not included under the 1931 constitution.

5.2.3. Ethiopian Citizenship Under the 1930 Nationality Proclamation

During the era of European scramble of Africa, Ethiopia was successfully defending its territory from the invasion and treat of Europeans at the battle of Adwa in 2 March 1896.²⁰³ This national victory of the country was a great motive to strengthen the national unity and known internationally and cultivate of an international image.²⁰⁴ This literally gave an international image to Ethiopians’ known in their brevity that literally used to show their strength and development.²⁰⁵ In addition to this, the fall of surrounding countries under European colonizers made Ethiopian a sweet home for all foreign nationals for any diplomatic or missionary activities.²⁰⁶ Plus to this, as the Eritrea fall under the Italian colonialism, the imperial regime also wanted to make a national identification

²⁰⁰The 1955 Constitution of Ethiopia Article 1

²⁰¹ The 1955 Constitution of Ethiopia Article 49

²⁰² The 1955 Constitution of Ethiopia Article 50

²⁰³Raymond, A. (2011). The Battle of Adwa: African Victory in the age of empire . *Michigan War Studies Review* , 413.

²⁰⁴ Ibid

²⁰⁵ Ibid

²⁰⁶ Ibid

from the rest of the world. This image and the coming of the well centralized monarchy in Ethiopia, the nationality identification and sense of belongingness in the country were further strengthened and the need for identification of national identity were realized by the 1930 nationality proclamation.

More importantly, the promulgation of the 1930 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia was initiated by the new approach and legal system of nationality and national identity from the international arena. As international human rights law has been increasingly asserted limits to state discretions, the international community came up with the new international convention, Hague convention of the 1930, to ensure that all countries recognize the right to have nationality which enables many more states to have their own national citizenship laws. Accordingly, as the attempt of harmonizing national citizenship practice and minimizing dual citizenship, the 1930 nationality proclamation was promulgated by Emperor Haile Selassie.

The 1930 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia is the first and oldest nationality proclamation in Africa. It had around 18 articles. At the very first article of the proclamation which starts with the phrase “*any person born in Ethiopia or abroad.....*”²⁰⁷ shows that the national proclamation equally recognizes males and females the right to acquire one’s own nationality. Due to this, the 1930 nationality proclamation was considered gender neutral proclamations. The proclamation also tries to include important statements about ways of acquiring nationality cases for children born between an Ethiopian and foreign nations, adopted and legitimated children’s and ways of acquiring nationality through marriage.²⁰⁸ The proclamation was devoted to nationality cases of children that able to best protect their rights not to be stateless children. The proclamation also passed an important statement regarding to the ways to lose of nationality as well as ways of re-admission of one’s own nationality as Ethiopian subjects.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷The 1930 nationality proclamation article 1

²⁰⁸The 1930 nationality proclamation article 6 &7

²⁰⁹The 1930 nationality proclamation article 11-18

5.2.4. Ways of Acquiring and Losing Citizenship under the 1930 Proclamation

The 1930 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia made its own statement regarding to the ways of acquiring and losing nationality rights. At its first article, the proclamation recognizes persons who born in Ethiopia or abroad to be an Ethiopia subject if one or both of his family are an Ethiopian origin.²¹⁰

The next four articles of the proclamations states about nationality in case of marriage between Ethiopian subjects with foreign nationals. Under this proclamation, it clearly stipulates that Ethiopian subjects who legally marry women of foreign national can confer Ethiopian nationals up on her.²¹¹ As per the 1930 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia, the legal marriage is a marriage that conducted in accordance with the forms of ‘Ethiopian religion’²¹², Ethiopian civil marriage or the law and forms of foreign nationals that create between wife²¹³ and husband²¹⁴.²¹⁵ However, if the marriage is between an Ethiopian women and foreign men, she will lose her nationality if the marriage with foreign nationality gives the national of her husband.²¹⁶ This case mostly taken as legal discrimination against the rights of the women unlike their men equals. However, as stated under article 4 of the 1930 nationality proclamation, this will be effective if her marriage with the foreigner gives her the nationality of her husband; otherwise she keeps her Ethiopian nationality.²¹⁷

The next part of the 1930 proclamation made an important statement about children born from an Ethiopian and foreign national. Accordingly, children born from legal marriage of Ethiopian father were provided to follow the nationality of his/her father if it proven he/she does not belongs to his/her mothers’ nationality.²¹⁸ While, children’s born from an Ethiopian mother and foreign father were provided to live in Ethiopia but expected to completely divest the paternal nationality.²¹⁹

²¹⁰The 1930 nationality proclamation article 1

²¹¹ The 1930 nationality proclamation article 2

²¹² As per the nationality proclamation of Ethiopia, ‘Ethiopian religion’ refers to any belief, religion or culture that exercised and believed by a section of society under the imperial political administration.

²¹³ The ‘wife’ under the nationality proclamation refers ‘women’

²¹⁴ ‘Husband’ under the nationality proclamation refers to ‘men’

²¹⁵ The 1930 nationality proclamation article 3 (a & b).

²¹⁶ The 1930 nationality proclamation article 4

²¹⁷ Ibid

²¹⁸ The 1930 nationality proclamation article 6

²¹⁹ The 1930 nationality proclamation article 7.

Subsequently, the 1930 nationality proclamation also states about the ways of acquiring and losing Ethiopian nationality. The 1930 nationality proclamation stipulates that any foreign national whose age is above 18, reside four at least five years in Ethiopia, non-dependent, able to know Amharic language and free from any criminal record may obtain the Ethiopian nationality by law.²²⁰ In addition to this, a foreign national can acquire Ethiopian nationality with special considerations if the imperial government finds other special reasons without considering the above requirements.²²¹ Likely, the 1930 nationality proclamation also states about the ways how an individual ‘subjects’ will lose an Ethiopian nationals. It stipulates that Ethiopian nationality will lose when an Ethiopian subject acquires another nationality and when an Ethiopian woman marries a foreign nationality.²²²

The last part of the proclamation states about the ways of re-admission of Ethiopian nationality upon the law. Accordingly, the original Ethiopian subject who obtain foreign national can re-admission their former Ethiopian national if they return and domicile in Ethiopia and renounce their foreign nationals.²²³ In addition to this, it also clearly stipulates that an Ethiopian woman having lost her Ethiopian nationality through her marriage with a foreign national may resume it after the dissolution of their marriage by any reason.²²⁴

5.2.5. The Legal and Practical Challenges

Though it was an embarking beginning for the history of Ethiopia, citizenship in Ethiopia had a number of challenges and limitations. The basic challenges that goes against citizenship and citizenship rights comes from the established legal rules and decision of the existed administration system of the Imperial monarchy. The constitutions of the Imperial Majesty, the unlimited power and authority of the emperor and his appointed officials and nationality proclamation itself affects citizenship and citizenship rights of national/subjects of the country.

The 1931 and 1955 constitution of Ethiopia had many contributions. However, these constitutions were not efficient enough to guarantee the right and freedoms of nationals/subjects. Although the

²²⁰ The 1930 nationality proclamation article 12 1(a-e)

²²¹ The 1930 nationality proclamation article 12 (2).

²²² The 1930 Nationality proclamation article 11(a & b)

²²³ The 1930 nationality proclamation article 17

²²⁴ The 1930 nationality proclamation article 18

Constitutions recognized a handful of rights, their relevance was vastly compromised due to the absolute power of the Emperor, and the absence of an organ empowered to interpret and apply the Constitution. Besides, most of the rights were entangled with claw-back clause. Due to this, civil rights and freedom remained on paper.

Rather than giving due attention for the rights and freedom of nationals/subjects of the country, the constitution devoted to state the powers of the imperial majesty and his sacred nature of power. Beyond this, the 1931 as well as the 1955 constitution of the Imperial Majesty placed no formal constraints on the power and authority of the emperor.²²⁵ These constitutions were prepared to bless the autocratic rule. More importantly, the monarchical administration of the Emperor Haile Selassie was not open and participatory for the diverse nationality groups of the country. Accordingly, the Ethiopian masses were not really represented even in the parliament.²²⁶ Even though argumentative, the constitutions of the imperial period legally reduce the status of nationals of the country to ‘subjects’. But as we have seen in chapter four of this material, the term ‘subject’ was used to signify people who did not have equal social, political and economic rights in a given area. Even though some peoples argue that the term ‘subjects’ under 1931 and 1955 constitution had different understanding and meaning, it legally made all the Ethiopian people the subject of the emperor. Hence, nationals as subjects of the emperor were not fully legitimized to exercise rights that even stated in the constitution with the permission of the emperor. In this regard, the constitutions and form of administration continued to be highly exploitative of the rights of ordinary people.

The other challenges of citizenship and citizenship rights come from the Emperor’s nationality proclamation. Through the 1930 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia was the first and oldest nationality proclamation of the country and even the continent, it contained a lot of draw backs and limitations especially with gender equality issues, social and cultural inclusion, and integration with the national constitution of the country. Though the very essence of citizenship rights is based on gender equality in all aspects, including the rights of women to pass her citizenship on to her

²²⁵Edmond, K. (2005). Making and remaking state and nation in Ethiopia . *Boarders, Nationalism and the African states* , 87.

²²⁶ Ibid

children's and spouse,²²⁷ as of the 1930 nationality proclamation, women were forced to lose their nationality when she legally marries a foreign national without having the possibility/chance to pass her nationality on to her children's and spouse.²²⁸ Similarly, rather than recognizing cultural variation and diversities, the 1930 nationality proclamation is blamed to be made a cultural assimilation as it requires a particular knowledge of the national Language-i.e. Amharic. The requirement of Knowing Amharic language perfectly, speaking and writing it fluently²²⁹ for acquiring Ethiopian national in a multi-nation state were taken as discrimination against other language speaking nationals.

As constitution of the country is the supreme law of the country, citizenship proclamation serves as supplementary and explanatory laws that comply with the constitution of the country. Hence, citizenship laws and rights shall comply with the constitutional provision of the country. However, in Ethiopia, since citizenship laws were promulgated even before the coming of the 1931 constitution of the country, it did not clearly state whether the 1930 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia comply with the rights and freedoms of individual's nationals under the consecutive Imperial constitution of the country.

²²⁷Manby, B. (2010). Citizenship Law in Africa: A comparative study . *Open Society Foundation* , 54.

²²⁸ The 1930 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia article 4 & 9

²²⁹ The 1930 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia article 12 (d)

5.3. CITIZENSHIP DURING THE DERGE REGIME

5.3.1. Introduction

Brainstorm Questions

- What kinds of political change do happen when the Imperial monarchy was overthrown by the Derge?
- Do the coming of the new government directly affect and change the practice of citizenship and citizenship rights in Ethiopia?
- Do you Imagine that the Derge regime formulate its own nationality provisions under its own constitution or nationality proclamation?

After the overthrow of the Imperial Monarch, the government of Derge was made an effortful attempt to establish a strong ‘central-Marxist/Leninist oriented government’ in the country. Soon after taking power, the Derg promoted ‘Ethiopian socialism’ (የኢትዮጵያ ህብረተሰብዓዊነት). The concept was embodied in slogans such as ‘self-reliance’, ‘the dignity of labor’, and ‘the supremacy of the common good’.²³⁰ Though the central aspect of socialism was land reform, it instigates and mobilizes the scene of Ethiopian nationalism (ኢትዮጵያዊነት) through institutionalizing nation-wide administrative, social, economic and political organizations.²³¹

As a socialist government, Derge sought that the common interest of peoples will be carried out by forming nation-wide organization rather than other nationality-based organizations like the secessionist and narrow nationalist do. The nation-based organization of Derge was inspired under the slogan of ‘Ethiopia First’, Land to the Tiller’, and ‘Democracy and Equality to all’ that gained popular support across the country.²³² These inspirational slogans accompanied by the national

²³⁰Keller, E. J. (2010). Constitutionalism, citizenship and political transition in Ethiopia: Hestoric and Contemporary Process . *World Press* , 57-90.

²³¹ Ibid

²³²Ibid

anthem-በህብረተሰብዓዊነት (see the Index- III) of Derge was used to higher the scene of ‘Ethiopianism’.

Derge also recognized the notion of self-determination for nationalities and regional autonomy and develop an administrative and political system, which is known as the National Democratic Revolution, to accommodate all the countries major nationalities.²³³ Unlike the assimilationist policy of the Imperial monarchy, Derge declared the principle of self-determination of nationalities and the right of each nation and nationality to develop its own language and culture.²³⁴

5.3.2. The Constitution of PDRE and Citizenship

As the basic elements of its reform, the Derge Regime adopts a new constitution in 1987. The Constitution stated that Ethiopia is a unitary state constituting administrative and autonomous regions.²³⁵ The PDRE Constitution expressly stated the possibility of organizing regional autonomies by recognizing the presence of different nationalities in Ethiopia. Article 59 of the PDRE constitution stipulates that “*Ethiopian people’s Democratic Republic is administration and self-administration unitary government*”.²³⁶ It sought to combine the recognition of the cultural identity of ethnic or national groups and a measure of autonomy for them, with overall subordination to the center in the name of the ultimate supremacy of class solidarity over national identity.²³⁷

²³³Manby, B. (2010). Citizenship Law in Africa: A comparative study . *Open Society Foundation* , 54.

²³⁴Ibid

²³⁵ The Constitution of PDRE Article 59

²³⁶ The Constitution of PDRE Article 59

²³⁷Keller, E. J. (2010). Constitutionalism, citizenship and political transition in Ethiopia: Hestoric and Contemporary Process . *World Press* , 57-90.

Figure 2: -The 30 regions of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (1987-1991)



Source: - The government of Ethiopia. By Perham Margery. (New edition.) pp. xci, 531, 4 maps. London, Faber and Faber, 1969. £5.50. - Volume 103 Issue 1 - A. N. Allott

The PDRE Constitution highly accentuates economic, social and cultural rights due to mainly the socialist tendency of the regime.²³⁸ The PDRE Constitution under part two chapter seven integrates basic social rights like the right to marriage²³⁹, right to access health services²⁴⁰, education²⁴¹; Economic rights like the right to work²⁴², the right to get leisure time²⁴³; Civil and political rights like the right to security²⁴⁴, freedom from arbitrary arrest²⁴⁵, the right to fair trial and due process

²³⁸ Ibid

²³⁹ The Constitution of PDRE Article 37

²⁴⁰ The Constitution of PDRE Article 42

²⁴¹ The Constitution of PDRE Article 40

²⁴² The Constitution of PDRE Article 39

²⁴³ The Constitution of PDRE Article 39

²⁴⁴ The Constitution of PDRE Article 43

²⁴⁵ Ibid

of law²⁴⁶, freedom of religion and thought²⁴⁷, freedom of speech and press²⁴⁸, freedom of movements²⁴⁹, the right to vote and be elected²⁵⁰ and so on for citizens.

More importantly, the PDRE constitution also has an important provisions and statements regarding with citizenship and citizenship rights. Part two chapter six of the constitution states about the citizenship and citizenship rights. The first part of the chapter states about the ways of acquiring Ethiopian citizenship. For example, article 31 (1) of the constitution stipulates that “*any person is an Ethiopian if one or both of his/her parents are an Ethiopian*”.²⁵¹ It also indicate that a foreign national and person with statelessness can acquire Ethiopian national as stated under article 31(3) which reads as “*a foreign national and persons with statelessness may acquire Ethiopian nationality as particulars determined by law*”.²⁵² Though, Derge did not proclaim specific nationality law that directly complement with PDRE constitution of the Derge regime. Rather, the 1930 nationality proclamation of the Imperial Monarchy was used as a grounding rule regarding to the criteria of acquiring Ethiopian citizenship in line with the decision of the ‘*National Shengo*’²⁵³ as a supreme law maker of Derge government.

The Second important citizenship provision of PDRE constitution is related to the protection of Ethiopian nationals who reside abroad. Article 32 (1) of the constitution stipulates that “*the state protect the rights and benefits of Ethiopian national residing abroad*”.²⁵⁴ The Constitution also obliged the state not to extradite Ethiopian national to other state.²⁵⁵

The other most important nationality provision stated under the constitution is right and security of foreign nationals who reside in Ethiopia. Article 33 of the constitution reads as follows: -

²⁴⁶ The Constitution of PDRE Article 44

²⁴⁷ The Constitution of PDRE Article 46

²⁴⁸ The Constitution of PDRE Article 47

²⁴⁹ The Constitution of PDRE Article 48

²⁵⁰ The Constitution of PDRE Article 50

²⁵¹ The Constitution of PDRE Article 31 (1)

²⁵² The Constitution of PDRE Article 31 (3)

²⁵³ The National Shengo is the Supreme organ of state power in the People’s Democratic Republic of Ethiopia as stated under the Article 62 of The Constitution of PFRE.

²⁵⁴ The PDRE constitution article 32 (1)

²⁵⁵ The PDRE constitution article 32 (2)

*The people's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia shall grant asylum to foreigners persecuted for their struggle in national liberation and anti-racist movements and for the cause of peace and democracy.*²⁵⁶

In addition to this, the constitution also gives legal protection for those foreign nationals who reside in Ethiopia. Article 34 (1 & 2) reads as follows: -

Citizens of other countries and stateless persons within the territory of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia shall have freedom, rights and duties determined by law.
*2) The state may not extradite a citizen of another country or a stateless person except as stipulated by international agreement.*²⁵⁷

Similarly, the constitution also guaranteed the right to non-extradition of foreign nationals.

5.3.3. Legal and practical challenges

On the aftermath of taking power, Derge made a huge reform, ranging from huge land reform to kebele and national level peasant association, that able to stabilize and form socialist government in the country. In addition, Derge conducts a huge re-settlement and villagization program especially in rural areas.²⁵⁸ However, the ambitious land reform, peasant association, re-settlement and villagization were involved with force and extortion which leads different popular revolts and grievance against the government.²⁵⁹ But, as the nature of the government of Derge was military, the government tries to respond and avert the revolt through military force.

The constitution of the Derge government was by far better and most radical especially in recognizing civil and political rights for citizens as compared to the constitutions of Emperor Haile Selassie. However, it was nonetheless a regime beset by fear and there was no fertile ground to foster the recognition and exercise of human rights. Especially with the coming of different

²⁵⁶ PDRE constitution article 33

²⁵⁷ PDRE constitution article 34 (1)

²⁵⁸ Lahra, S., 2008. the politics of contemporary language policy in Ethiopia. *journal of Developing societies* , 13(2), p. 208.

²⁵⁹ Ibid

resistance groups, Derge become more suppressive and exploitative that devastates human rights and freedoms stated even under its own constitutions.

In other hand, the government was in attempt to consolidate a socialist government, citizenship and citizenship rights were also harmonized in line with socialist ideological orientation of the government. Hence, citizens are expected to uphold, demonstrate and carried out socialist oriented policies and ideological approaches, the so-called *revolution* (አብዮት), unconditionally to be considered as good citizen. This period was a period of mass killing and murder which referred as ‘Red Terror’-violent political campaign against pro-government and ‘White Terror’-as a counterpart.²⁶⁰ Hence, citizens were not allowed to ask why they expected to uphold and accept such policies and ideological approaches.

5.4.CITIZENSHIP UNDER THE EPRDF

5.4.1. Introduction

Brainstorm Questions

- What kinds of political change do happen when the Derge was overthrown by EPRDF?
- Do the coming of the new government directly affect and change the practice of citizenship and citizenship rights in Ethiopia?

The coming of new forms of government, ethno-territorial federalism, after the fall of the Derge regime brought the new era for the concept and practice of citizenship/nationality in Ethiopia. The basic rooting factors for the new conceptualization of citizenship are the institutionalization of ‘*socialist oriented ethno-territorial federalism*’²⁶¹ in the country. The new political system

²⁶⁰Keller, E. J. (2010). Constitutionalism, citizenship and political transition in Ethiopia: Hestoric and Contemporary Process . *World Press* , 57-90.

²⁶¹As stated by Edmond Keller (2010), the concept of Nation, nationality and Peoples identification of Ethnic groups and the accentuated group’s rights manifested under the structural organization of the Federal government and constitution of FDRE government is directly taken from Socialist Ideology of USSR. in addition to this, as the structural organization of the local administration of the federal government is in line with language and territorial settlement, as stated under the article 46 (2) of the FDRE constitution and argued by Edmond Keller (2010), Ethiopian Federalism merges language and territorial federalism concomitantly. Hence, putting into consideration these points, Keller refer Ethiopian federalism as ‘*socialist oriented ethno-territorial federalism*’.

associate federalism, self-determination up to and including secession and legal pluralism to respond to the problem of unequal relationships among ethno-national groups in the country. This federal approach totally changes the centralist approach of the previous states which directly or indirectly change the country-wide of citizenship into more ethno-territorial based understanding.

Figure 3:- Map of Ethiopia by region in since 1991



Source: The government of Ethiopia. By Perham Margery. (New edition.) pp. xci, 531, 4 maps. London, Faber and Faber, 1969. £5.50. - Volume 103 Issue 1 - A. N. Allott

With the coming of new government under federal state structure, a new constitution was promulgated in 1994, which referred as the 1995 constitution considering the period of coming into effect, as the first decentralized democratic constitution in the history of Ethiopia. The 1995 constitution of Ethiopia is by far better and clear in defining the rights and freedom of individuals and groups, determining the relationship between individual citizens and with the state, limiting and checking the power of the government than the previous ones. More importantly, the 1995 constitution Ethiopia shows its commitment to determine and guarantee the rights of nation and nationalities as it consider the locus of discrimination and exploitation of the previous governments

rests on group identities. Arguably, human rights provision of the 1995 constitution of Ethiopia tries to incorporate individual and group (in name of nation and nationality) rights and freedoms. In regarding human rights provision, the constitution further elevates the horizon of human rights through referencing to the international and regional human rights instruments as threshold for the interpretation of its human rights provision.²⁶² It also recognizes the rights to self-determination of “nation, nationalities and peoples”²⁶³ with a multi-faceted group rights.²⁶⁴

5.4.2. The 1995 FDRE Constitution and Citizenship

The law of citizenship in Ethiopia begins from the constitution. The FDRE constitution made an important provision and provides an explicit right to nationality and related rights. It makes a clear statement regarding to nationality by declaring that any person of either sex shall be an Ethiopian national where both or either parents are/is an Ethiopia.²⁶⁵ Hence, the constitution enshrines the principles of jus-sanguineous if a child is born to an Ethiopian mother or an Ethiopian father. In addition to this, the constitution also provides for naturalization, a possibility that a foreign can acquire Ethiopian nationals.²⁶⁶

After clear stipulation of nationality issues in the country, the constitution also made clear statement and declaration regarding to the rights, freedom of those nationals either individually or in groups. Among all things from the previous, the FDRE constitution declared that all Ethiopians are equal before the law, had the right to marry, to work, to rest, to receive free education, and to have access to health care and fair trials.²⁶⁷ The equality statement of the FDRE constitution shows the obliteration of ‘subject- master’ relationship of the previous regimes and entitlement of Ethiopians as citizens. In this case, the constitution inculcates important equality statements and abrogates any kinds of discrimination among or between Ethiopian nationals. It states that all

²⁶²Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 13(2)

²⁶³Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art.39(1).

²⁶⁴ C. Heyns and W. Kagoungo (2006), ‘Constitutional human rights law inAfrica’ (22) South African Journal of Human Rights 673, at 678.

²⁶⁵Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 6 (1)

²⁶⁶Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 6 (2)

²⁶⁷Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 25, 33, 34, 41, 20 Respectively

Ethiopians are equal regardless of nationality, sex, religion, occupation, and social or other status.²⁶⁸

The FDRE constitution also assures freedoms of movement, speech, press, assembly, peaceful demonstration, and association for all Ethiopian nationals.²⁶⁹ Under these provisions, an Ethiopian national were guaranteed the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his/her residence²⁷⁰, freedom to hold opinion and freedoms of expression without any interference²⁷¹, freedom of association for any cause or any purpose,²⁷² right to assembly and demonstrate with the other in an armed and peaceful way.²⁷³ Regarding political participation, citizens had the right to vote and the right to be elected for political office. The constitution stipulates that all Ethiopian nationals have the right to take part in conduct of public affairs, the right to vote and to be elected at periodic elections to any office at any level of government²⁷⁴ and right to be member of his own will political organization, labour union or trade organization²⁷⁵. However, this right was guaranteed for only Ethiopian national with age specific.²⁷⁶

5.4.3. Ethiopian Citizenship Under 2003 Nationality Proclamation

Ethiopia proclaim a new nationality law referred as “The FDRE Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003’ in 2003. The FDRE Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003, henceforth, officially repealed and replaced the 1930 nationality law of the country and serves as a complementing nationality law of the Constitution of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopian. It establishes a descent-based regime for attribution of citizenship at birth, removing gender discrimination in relation to transmission of citizenship to children and spouses, and providing for a presumption in favor of abandoned infants found in Ethiopia. There is, however, no protection in favor of children born in Ethiopia who would otherwise be stateless.

²⁶⁸Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 25

²⁶⁹See Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Article 29-44

²⁷⁰Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 32

²⁷¹Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 29

²⁷²Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 31

²⁷³Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 30

²⁷⁴Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 38 (1)

²⁷⁵Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 38 (2)

²⁷⁶Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 38 (1(b))

There were two basic reasons for the enactment of 2003 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia. These are the coming of the new federal constitution and secession of Eritrea from Ethiopia.

- ❖ **The FDRE constitution:** - the first and basic reason for the enactment of the new nationality proclamation is the coming of the new FDRE constitution and its nationality statements under article 6 (3). As article 6 (3) of the FDRE constitution states that “particulars relating to nationality shall be determined by law”²⁷⁷, it clearly states that there shall be nationality proclamation that comply with new constitution of Ethiopia.
- ❖ **Secession of Eritrea:** -The secession of Eritrea from Ethiopia raised the question of nationality especially on those Eritreans who live in Ethiopia and Ethiopians live in Eritrea.²⁷⁸ When war broken between Ethiopia and Eritrea in 1998 the question become more sensitive that raises distrust and suspicion against those who did not reside in their ‘home-state’. Due to this, many Ethiopian from Eritrea and Eritreans from Ethiopia were forcefully expelled from their resident. For example, around 75,000 Eritreans were deported from Ethiopia and those who had been registered to vote in the Eritrean referendum were denationalized in 1999. According to the report of the government, Ethiopia revoked their Ethiopian citizenship from Eritreans due to the fact that those who registered to vote in the referendum on Eritreans independence had opted for Eritreans nationality by so doing.

5.4.4. Rights of Nationality

The demand of being national which possibly triggered by a number of reasons, is a fundamental human motivation and desire that an individual demand to have. This desire is so universal that the need to belong is found across all cultures and different types of people in a multi-dimensional way. Fail to belong and identify of oneself as member to an identified political community-state-results less protected and exposed to severe human right abuses in a number of ways. Due to this

²⁷⁷Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 6 (3)

²⁷⁸Manby, B. (2010). *Citizenship Law in Africa: A Comparative Study*. New York : Open Society Foundation .

fact, national membership and belonging of individuals were further articulated and expressed in rights language as the right to nationality.

Likewise, the right to a nationality becomes a fundamental human right which implies the rights of each individual to acquire change and retain a nationality. Accordingly, different international human rights laws integrate the right to nationality as a basic human right. For example, UDHR under article 15 of its provision specifies that:-

*Everyone has the right to a nationality; and no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his/her nationality nor denied the right to change his/her nationality.*²⁷⁹

Similarly, ICCPR also stipulates that “every child has the right to acquire a nationality”.²⁸⁰ Not only the ICCPR and the UDHR, but many international and regional human rights laws, treaties and convention made clear statements regarding the rights of nationalities. For example, the Convention on the Rights of the Child made an important statement which says:-

*The child shall have registered immediately after birth and shall have the right from birth a name, the right to acquire a nationality and.....*²⁸¹

This clearly shows that the right to nationality is also taken as a fundamental human right that gets due attention under the international and regional human right laws.

As international and regional human rights laws may not be effectively implemented across stated jurisdictions due to the sovereignty of states, international human rights law provides the right to each state to enact or integrate nationality rights under their domestic law. Likely, as signatory of many international human rights laws and conventions like, UDHR, ICCPR, and CRC and soon, Ethiopia tries to integrate the right to a nationality in many domestic laws. For example, the national constitution of Ethiopian, here and there FDRE constitution, made general provision regarding who and how can one be an Ethiopian national.²⁸² In addition to this, the constitution also integrates the right to a nationality as fundamental human right and states about the non-deprivation of Ethiopian nationality, right to enjoy all rights, right to change Ethiopia

²⁷⁹ The UDHR article 15

²⁸⁰ The ICCPR article 24 (3)

²⁸¹ The Convention on the Rights of the Child article 7 (1)

²⁸² Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 art.6

nationality.²⁸³ Similarly, the constitution also guaranteed the right to nationality for children's specifically by stating that "*every child has the right to a name and nationality*".²⁸⁴

More specifically, the nationality proclamation of Ethiopian made clear about specific provision under chapter three of the proclamation. The proclamation contains a general provision on the rights of Ethiopian nationals to get state protection.²⁸⁵ As the proclamation, the state is obliged to protect the rights and interests of its nationals and take a necessary measure to ensure the rights of nationals residing in and abroad. In addition to this, Ethiopian nationals have also the right of non-extradition to another state.²⁸⁶ This shows that any Ethiopian national may not be surrendered of an alleged criminal by Ethiopian authority to charge by another state. In addition to this, the proclamation also guarantees the right to change one's own nationality²⁸⁷ whenever necessary and non-deprivation of nationality²⁸⁸ by the decision of the government involuntarily.

5.4.5. Ways of acquiring Ethiopian citizenship

States have their own selfsame and idiosyncratic laws and rules for citizenship. The domestic law of states made a variety of statements and declaration regarding with the ways of acquiring citizenship especially for those foreigners who demand to be their nationals. No matter the variation and peculiarity of states nationality laws, citizenship could be obtained in two major ways.

- The first is related to the birth place and his/her parent's birth place. A child born in certain country can acquire the citizenship of that country through birth place which is literally known as the right of soil (Jus Soli). This way of acquiring citizenship may not work in some countries including Ethiopia. In addition to this, an individual can acquire citizenship from his/her parent's nationality by blood which is known as the right of blood (Jus Sanguineous). This is the prime and most popular form of acquiring citizenship in all states of the world.

²⁸³Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 33

²⁸⁴Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 36 (1(b))

²⁸⁵Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 14

²⁸⁶Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 15

²⁸⁷Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 16

²⁸⁸Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 17

- The second form of acquiring citizenship is naturalization. This form of acquiring citizenship demands the fulfilment of social, economic, political and legal requirements of the country which possibly vary from state to state.

The Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 made a clear statement regarding the ways of acquiring Ethiopian citizenship. Accordingly, the nationality proclamation of Ethiopia tries to integrates two ways of acquiring citizenship- by blood (descent) stated under article 3 and by law stated under six consecutive articles from 3-9 of chapter two.

5.4.5.1.Nationality by Descent

Being citizen and belonging to certain political community is not always a choice, rather, it can be through birth place or blood descent that we have from our parents which one cannot change.²⁸⁹ Accordingly, children at birth may automatically be citizens if their parents have state citizenship or national identities of ethnic, cultural or other origin.²⁹⁰ Regarding this, Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No.378/2003 states that “*any person shall be an Ethiopian national by descent where both or either of his parents is Ethiopian*”.²⁹¹ In addition to this, the nationality proclamation also states that “*an infant who is found abandoned in Ethiopia shall, unless proved to have a foreign nationality, be deemed to have Ethiopian parents and shall acquire Ethiopian nationality*”.²⁹² Hence, it clearly affirms that the law of blood (*jus-sanguineous*) is an important of ways of acquiring Ethiopian citizenship. However, acquiring citizenship through birth place (*jus soil*) is not applicable in case of Ethiopia.

5.4.5.2.Nationality through Naturalization

Peoples may not live or like to live always in a state in which they born or where their parents belong. Due to many pushing and pulling factors peoples may migrate from their home country to the other and may demand to get a legitimate acceptance to belong to the host states as citizen. Accordingly, different nationality laws and constitution made an important statements and declaration regarding the ways of giving nationality for those foreign migrants (aliens) with

²⁸⁹Kostakopoulou, D. (1994). the Future governance of citizenship . *Cambridge University Press* , 13-195.

²⁹⁰ Ibid

²⁹¹Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. (3 (1)

²⁹²Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 3(2)

specific requirements. The specific legal statement that enables a foreigner to become citizen of another country is commonly referred to as naturalization. Unlike citizenship through birth, naturalization sets out social, economic, language, political and legal requirements in which a foreign national needs to fulfil. As of the Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003, “*any foreigner may acquire Ethiopian nationality by law in accordance with the provision of article 5-12 of this proclamation*”.²⁹³

Acquisition by law: - Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 states that a foreigner who fulfils the following requirements can acquire Ethiopian nationality through letter of application.²⁹⁴

- A. *Have attained the majority age and legally capable under Ethiopian law*
- B. *Begin to domicile in Ethiopia for a total of four years*
- C. *Be able to communicate in any of one of the language NNP of the country*
- D. *Have sufficient and lawful sources of income*
- E. *Be a person of good character*
- F. *Have no record of criminal conviction*
- G. *One who able to release from previous nationality*
- H. *Able to take the oath of allegiance stated under article 12.*

Acquisition through Marriage: - marriage is also one of internationally accepted mechanisms that foreign national can naturalize nationality of his/her wife or husband respectively. Regarding to this, Ethiopian nationality proclamation article 6 stipulates that “*a foreign national who is married to an Ethiopian national may acquire Ethiopian nationality by law....*”²⁹⁵ As stated under article 6 of the proclamation, this acquisition of Ethiopian nationality will be effective with the following requirements.²⁹⁶

- First, the marriage should be conducted in accordance with Ethiopian law or the law of any other country.
- Second, there must be a total lap of two years since the conclusion of marriage.

²⁹³Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 4

²⁹⁴Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 5

²⁹⁵Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 6.

²⁹⁶Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 6 (1-4)

- Third, he/she must live a total of two years preceding the submission of the application in Ethiopia.
- Finally, a foreign national should fulfill the condition stated under article 5 sub articles 1, 7, and 8 of the proclamation stated under naturalization requirements.

Besides, after a foreign national get Ethiopian national through marriage, the status of citizenship cannot be obliterated even if the partners get divorced.

Acquisition through legitimization: - helping others especially for those who are disables', women's and children were taken as the legal and moral duties for many states of the world. These states under domestic law made an important and specific proclamation that able to promote and protect the rights of these groups in special affirmative policy that able to mobilize, invite and coordinate governmental, NGOs and different interested groups. Among one of supporting policy approach were legalizing and contracting adoption of the orphans and abandoned children.

The 2003 Nationality proclamation of Ethiopia made clear legitimization (case of adoption policy in regard with Ethiopian nationality. Article 7 of the proclamation stipulates “*any child adopted by Ethiopian national may acquire Ethiopian nationality by law*”.²⁹⁷ To be this law effective, the proclamation made specific requirements:-

- *First, that adopted child shall not attain the age of majority.*
- *Second, the child must live in Ethiopia together with his/her adopting parents.*
- *Third, if one of the adopting parents is foreigners, the foreigner parent shall express his consent in written form.*
- *Finally, the child must release his previous nationality if any.*

Acquisition through special case: - the acquisition of citizenship can be given for an individual without undergoing all the legal procedures. Rather, states may give nationality for a foreign national who made a profound contribution for the realization of the overall objective of the country. In case of Ethiopia, as of article 8 of the nationality proclamation, “*a foreigner who has made an outstanding contribution in the interest of Ethiopia may be conferred with Ethiopian*

²⁹⁷Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 7

nationality by law irrespective of the conditions stated under sub article (2) and (3) of article 5 of this proclamation".²⁹⁸ In fact, a foreigner who acquires Ethiopian nationality through special case requires dropping or being released from his/her former nationality if any.

5.4.6. Mode of losing Ethiopian Citizenship

Each country defines the nationality status of its own citizens. In doing so, states try to put basic requirements and ways in which an individual can possibly achieve the nationality status of their country and reasons or modes in which their nationality can be lost or taken away. This process is said to be mode of losing nationality. Losing citizenship is the event of ceasing one's own citizenship voluntarily or involuntarily under the national law of the country. Accordingly, there are two (voluntary and involuntary) modes of losing one's own nationality

5.4.6.1. Voluntary mode of losing citizenship

The voluntary loss of citizenship is a process in which citizens themselves renounces or relinquish their own citizenship at any time whenever they like. Regarding to this, UNUDHR stipulates that "*no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality*".²⁹⁹ As signatory of the UDHR, Ethiopia also recognizes the rights of individuals to expatriate one's own nationality and specify that "*any national has the right to change his Ethiopian nationality*".³⁰⁰ Complementing the constitution of the country, the nationality proclamation also recognizes the rights of individuals to renounce or relinquish their nationality upon the acquisition or guaranteed the acquisition of the nationality of the other state have the right to renounce Ethiopian nationality.³⁰¹

The loss of Ethiopian nationality upon the acquisition of the nationality of other states were justified that the acquisition of the other nationality considered as voluntary renunciation of his Ethiopian nationality. The nationality proclamation stipulates that:-

²⁹⁸Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 8

²⁹⁹ The UDHR article 15(2)

³⁰⁰Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 33 (3)

³⁰¹Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 19 (1)

*“..... any Ethiopian who voluntarily acquires another nationality shall be deemed to have voluntarily renounced his Ethiopian nationality”.*³⁰²

As of the proclamation, the loss of Ethiopian nationality in Ethiopia may not have effect on spouses and children. The proclamation stipulates that *“a person’s loss of Ethiopian nationality shall have no effect on the nationality of his spouses and children”*.³⁰³

However, as per the nationality proclamation of Ethiopia, an Ethiopian national will have the right to renounce his/her Ethiopian nationality only if he/she has acquired or has been guaranteed the acquisition of the nationality of other states. Article 19 (1), which states that:- *“any Ethiopian who has acquired or has been guaranteed the acquisition of the nationality of another state shall have the right to renounce his Ethiopian nationality”*³⁰⁴, implies that an Ethiopian national may not have the right to renounce unless and otherwise he/she acquire the nationality of the other state. In addition to this, the nationality proclamation also put some basic pre-requisites to renounce Ethiopian nationality. Regarding with this, the nationality proclamation states that:-

*“An Ethiopian who has declared his intentions to renounce his nationality may not be released until: - a/ he has discharge his outstanding national obligation, b/ where he has been accused of or convicted for a crime, he has been acquitted or served the penalty”.*³⁰⁵

5.4.6.2. Involuntary Mode of Losing Citizenship

Being citizens of a country does not only entail rights and freedoms. As these rights and freedoms grounded from the unshakable contribution and efforts of citizens, it rather raises serious duties that a given individuals expected to fulfil as citizens of the country. Accordingly, those citizens who failed to fulfil their duty will face an involuntary loss of their citizenship. The Involuntary loss of citizenship is a process in which citizens of a given states are deprived off or taken away their national belongingness by legal decision of the states. Involuntary loss of citizenship occurs

³⁰²Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 20(1)

³⁰³Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 21

³⁰⁴Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 19(1)

³⁰⁵Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 19 (4)

either due to automatic lapse of citizens and failure to take some action to retain citizenship, or due to active withdrawal of citizenship from the country.³⁰⁶

After conducting general survey on the nationality law of thirty-three European states, the European Union Democracy Observatory found nine general cases in which citizens of a country lose their citizenship through involuntary ways.³⁰⁷ These are, the voluntary acquisition of another citizenship, fraud in the naturalization process, sham marriage, residing abroad, serving in a foreign military or government, upon adoption annulment of maternity/paternity, children upon loss of citizenship of their parent, make access of the national secrets to the alien state and promising loyalty to another country/state.

However, different international norms like UDHR, treaties and conventions on the reduction of statelessness limits or abrogate the involuntary lose or deprivation of citizenship and citizenship rights in any case. For example, article 15 (2) of the UDHR stipulates that no one shall be arbitrarily neither deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.³⁰⁸ Similarly, article 7 (a) of the Convention on the reduction of Statelessness stipulates that:-

*If the law of a contracting state entails loss or renunciation of nationality, such renunciation shall not result in loss of nationality unless the person concerned possesses or acquires another nationality.*³⁰⁹

These international norms, conventions and treaties try to limit the power of the governments not to deprive citizenship of individuals in which some also argue that it further limits the ability of individual's ability to voluntarily make themselves stateless in many ways.

Likewise, as Ethiopian is signatory states of some of international norms, treaties and conventions, it integrates different legal statements that nullify an involuntary loss of citizenship in the country. For example, the FDRE constitution article 33 (1) states that “*no Ethiopian national shall be deprived of his/her Ethiopian nationality against his/her will*”³¹⁰. This statement of the

³⁰⁶Maarten Vink, I. H. (2013). Loss of Citizenship . *Citizenship Policy Brief* .

³⁰⁷De Groot, Vink&Honohan 2013, pp. 3–4

³⁰⁸ The UDHR article 15(2)

³⁰⁹Convention on the reduction of Statelessness article 7 (a).

³¹⁰Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 Art. 33(1)

constitution is further strengthening by the 2003 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia which states that:-

*No Ethiopian may be deprived of his nationality by the decision of any government authority unless he loses his Ethiopian nationality under article 19 or 20 of this proclamation.*³¹¹

Hence, there is no a legal ground in Ethiopia that used to deprive the nationality of an Ethiopian citizen.

5.4.7. Practical and Legal Challenges of Citizenship in FDRE

The reordering of state society relation and the empowerment of cultural groups under the ethnic based federal system generates a spoiling debate and discussion on the meaning and concept of citizenship and citizens' rights in Ethiopia. The center of discussion and debates were centered on the conflict of the conceptual understanding of the essence of "Ethiopian-ness" (ኢትዮጵያዊነት) and ethnic based group identification of individuals under the ethnic based federalism. While the essence of "Ethiopian-ness" put its center of discussion and clues of citizenship in national perspective, the ethnic based group identification gives due attention for one's cultural or language identification to an ethnic group. This approach leads an over-riding approach of the civil and political rights of individuals by the social and cultural rights of a group identity.

As the federal state structure with the 1995 Constitution devolves a large amount of power to states divided on the basis of language and ethnicity, almost all ethnic groups were empowered to establish their own self-administering institutions in legally and politically identified territories.³¹² Though it helps to empower the '*empowered ethnic groups*' in political, social and cultural matters, it complicated the life of '*non-empowered ethnic groups*' who are not members of the "*politically empowered ethnic groups*"³¹³ of the region.³¹⁴ In giving due attention for those territorially empowered groups in their home region or area, laws and policies of the country directly or

³¹¹Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 17

³¹²Zemelak, A., 2011. Law democracy and development: Local governments in Ethiopia: still an apparatus of control? Volume 15, p. 6.

³¹³Politically empower ethnic groups are those groups of peoples who legally recognized and identified by the regional and federal government and constitution to establish the self-administration government in the region

³¹⁴Bronwen, M. (2009). Struggles for Citizenship in Africa . *Social Science Research Council* .

indirectly limit the rights of some groups who moved from their home region.³¹⁵ For example, the Amended National Electoral Law of the country, Proclamation No, 532/2007, sets out a language requirement for candidates who want to run for election in the area that they contest. Article 45 (1(b)) states that “*any person shall be eligible for candidature, where he is versed in the working language of the regional state or the area of his intended candidature*”.³¹⁶ Beyond its contravention with the non-discrimination and freedom of movement clauses of the FDRE constitution, this provision clearly violates the vital human rights of citizens to political participation and fair representation. This contravention and ‘legal suspension’ of the rights of selective citizens makes them non-active and less empowered in the area where they live as ‘second citizen’.

Similarly, an ethno-centric regional constitution of the regional states of the country also becomes the basic challenges of the citizenship and citizenship rights. Though, the regional constitutions are very important in determining the structure, nature and power of the regional states and best protect the rights and interests of regional peoples, it complicates and further limits the rights of “*non-empowered*” peoples who are not politically and legally empowered in the region. This due to the reason that the regional constitutions made an exclusionary statement that transcend the rights of citizens and citizenship rights of ‘*non-empowered peoples*’³¹⁷ when it tries to identify peoples of the region from the other. For example, article 46 (1) of the revised constitution of Gambela Regional State stipulates that the founder nations of the regional state are Agnuha, Nuyer, Mejanger, Opo and Komo.³¹⁸ This implies that the rest of the people who live in the region are non-founders which technically exclude these groups of peoples from the institutional structure of the regional state. Similarly, article 2 of the revised constitution of Benishangul-Gumuz Regional States put Berta, Gumuz, Shinasha, Mao and Komo as owner of the region.³¹⁹ The provision clearly excludes the rest of the people, which potentially count to share almost 45 percent of the total

³¹⁵Mengie, L., 2010. Federalism for Unity and Minorities” protection :(A comparative study on Constitutional Principles and their practical Implications: US, India and Ethiopia). November. 12.

³¹⁶ The amended electoral law of Ethiopia article 45 (1(b))

³¹⁷Non-empowered peoples are people who are internal migrate from their ‘home regional state’ to the other ‘host region’ and did not politically and normatively recognized as people of the region.

³¹⁸The Revised Constitution, 1995, of the Gambela People National Regional State Approval Proclamation No27/1995, article 46 (1),

³¹⁹Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State Revised Constitution Approval Proclamation No. 31/2002.

population of the region, from institutional structure of the region as internal migrants. As these constitutional provisions imply, those groups of peoples who are not legally identified as ‘*peoples of the region*’³²⁰ were suspended from any political participation and excluded from institutional structure of the regional governments. This makes them as second citizens who have no any say on the decision-making process of the regions and lack even security and legal recognition in the area where they live in.

The ethno-territorial federal state structure accompanied with transcending regional constitution of the country also creates an ethno-centric extremist which results in multi-lined ethnic conflict in different parts of the country. As Christophe Van der Beken and Mengie Legesse argue, despite the fact that the new political system which combines federalism, self-determination and legal pluralism devised to solve the unequal relationships among ethno-national groups of people, it also creates ethnic based elite groups that compete to control regional and local state powers and resources that may gradually escalate and change to ethnic based conflict and hostile inter-state relation.³²¹ Due to this, peoples who are not legally and politically recognized as ‘*people of the region*’ were forcefully evicted and displaced and even moved to regional states where their major ethnic groups are located. For example, around 22,000 and 10,000 Amhara from SNNP and Benishangul-Gumuz Region and around 200,000 Oromo from Somali Region were evicted and dislocated due to an ethnic conflict triggered in the area as the report of federal and regional authorities.

However, the forceful eviction and displacement of people were against the constitutional rights of citizens which states “*any Ethiopian..... has the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence.....*”³²² This violation of constitutional rights and forceful eviction from their settlement and home shows that these groups of peoples are left unprotected and become

³²⁰People of the region refers to people who are politically and normatively identified own and empowered in the region.

³²¹Beken, V., 2007. Ethiopian Constitutional protection of Ethnic minorities at regional level. *African Focus*, 2(1), p. 45 and Mengie, L., 2010. Federalism for Unity and Minorities Protection: (A comparative study on constitutional principles and their practical implications: US, India and Ethiopia) ... November. p. 105.

³²²Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995 art. 32

vulnerable for a number of human right violations in their country which put their citizenship rights and right to citizenship in question.

Citizenship and citizenship rights are nationwide which demands to entertain the right throughout the legal territory of a given state. However, in Ethiopian the devolution of a large amount of power to regional states divide and weaken the citizenship rights into more local and state level. The problem will further be complicated by ultimate power of regional state to make final decision in their territorial jurisdiction and non-interference rights from the federal government; as the matter of citizenship and citizenship rights will fall in the hands of the powers of the regional states.

5.5.DUAL CITIZENSHIP AND STATELESSNESS IN ETHIOPIA

5.5.1.1.Dual Nationality

The national laws of the world states regarding with the ways of acquiring of citizenship are varied and overlapping one for the other. When the criteria to acquire citizenship of some states (like Ethiopia, UAE, Israel and China) are culturally specific, the others (like USA, UK, France and Netherlands) give more concentration on economic and academic status of individuals who demand to acquire foreign citizenship.³²³ However, except little difference in their primal emphasis, the criterial that states apply to acquire citizenship is mutually dependent and overlapping. As result, individuals in a number of circumstances may obtain dual citizenship. Dual citizenship is person's citizenship status in which a person is concomitantly regarded as citizens of two or more states under the national law of the country.

Likewise, dual citizenship enshrines legal rights and raises obligations in all countries in which citizenship is acquired. For example, they have access to social services, can vote, able to run for offices, own property and get cultural education/knowledge in both countries that they acquire dual citizenship. Despite this advantage, dual citizenship had a number of disadvantages that complicates the life of citizens by pulling them into a dual obligation like paying tax for both

³²³Van Houdt, F., Suvarierol, S., & Schinkel, W. (2011). Neoliberal communitarian citizenship: Current trends towards 'earned citizenship' in the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands. *International sociology*, 26(3), 408-432.

countries, obligating military services, problem of security clearance for accessing classified information.

The status of having dual citizenship had different approaches and responses from the national policy of the world states. While some states simply deny and limit, others permit and accept the status of dual citizenship. For example, when Japan, China, Ethiopia, UAE, Netherlands, Austria and Burma deny; states like UK, Australia, and Belgium allow dual citizenship. However, some states, like USA, did not include clear statements that restricts or allow dual citizenship.

Looking into Ethiopian, dual citizenship did not get a welcoming environment policy throughout the history of citizenship. Even the oldest citizenship law in Ethiopia, the 1930 nationality Proclamation, did not put aside to possibly narrow or abrogate dual nationality in Ethiopia. For example, the 1930 nationality proclamation clearly stipulates that an Ethiopian national who acquire another nationality loss Ethiopian nationality.³²⁴ This clearly shows that the 1930 nationality proclamation clearly bans the possibility of acquiring dual nationality conglomerate with Ethiopian nationality. Similarly, article 17 and 18 which states about the possibility re-admission of an Ethiopian national who lost his/her nationality through the case of naturalizing in another country and women lost through marriage of a foreign national implies that the proclamation clearly deny dual nationality in Ethiopia.³²⁵

Likewise, the 2003 Nationality Proclamation made an important statements and declarations that directly repudiate or disclaim dual nationality in Ethiopian. Especially, as the proclamation put the renunciation of foreign/other nationality/ as one of the basic requirements to acquire Ethiopian nationality³²⁶ and assumed to be voluntarily renounce his/her Ethiopian nationality if he/she naturalized in foreign country³²⁷, it implies that the 2003 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia denies the acquisition of dual nationality.

³²⁴The 1930 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia article 11 (a).

³²⁵Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 17 and 18

³²⁶Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art.5 (7).

³²⁷Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art.19(1).

5.5.1.2.Statelessness

The governing practice and laws of a given state in many states of the world may effectively leave thousands of people without nationality.³²⁸ Consequently, hundreds of thousands of people around the world find themselves ‘non-national’ in any of states that they have ever known.³²⁹ As Bronwen(2009) states about, they cannot get their children registered at birth or enter school or university; they cannot access state health services; they cannot obtain travel documents, or employments without a work permit; and if they leave the country they may not be able to return and soon.³³⁰ These people with nationality becomes under the state of statelessness that can neither vote nor stand for offices and exposed to human rights abuses. Hence, statelessness is a condition which is used to describe the status of stateless person.

The Convention on the Status of Stateless Person define it as “...a person who is not considered as a national by the any state under the operation of its law”.³³¹ According to Batchelor (1998) in fact the definition of the convention describes a condition of *de jure statelessness* rather than the *defacto statelessness* with respect to national law.³³² The *de jure statelessness* refers to the condition of persons whose nationality is taken away by their own government due to some reasons.³³³ But the *defacto statelessness* refers to the condition of persons who have nationality but do not get protection from their state when they are out of their country.³³⁴

Statelessness of persons can be caused by number reasons. Most commonly, the *de jure statelessness* situations are generated by conflicts of law, gender discrimination, state succession, administrative obstacles, and renunciation of citizenship and non-state territories. However, the *defecto statelessness* can be caused by lack of capacity and willingness of states to protect and defend their own nationals from any kinds of internal or external threat.

³²⁸Manby, B. (2010). *Citizenship Law in Africa: A Comparative Study*. New York : Open Society Foundation.

³²⁹Bronwen, M. (2009). *Struggles for Citizenship in Africa . Social Science Research Council .*

³³⁰ Ibid

³³¹ Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons, article 1(1)

³³²Batchelor, C. A. (1998). Statelessness and the problem of resolving nationality status. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 10(1-2), 156-182.

³³³ Ibid

³³⁴Batchelor, C. A. (1998). Statelessness and the problem of resolving nationality status. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 10(1-2), 156-182.

As Ethiopia is a signatory state of the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, statelessness is not a problem for any Ethiopian national. Concomitant to the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, both the 1930 and 2003 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia did not allow to renounce his/her own Ethiopian nationality unless and otherwise he/she has acquired or has been guaranteed the acquisition of the nationality of another state. For example, according to the 1930 Nationality Proclamation of Ethiopia, *an Ethiopian national may only lose his/her nationality if he/she only acquires another nationality*³³⁵ of a foreign country. Similarly, the 2003 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia also states that:-

*An Ethiopia national may renounce his/her own nationality if he/she has acquired or has been guaranteed the acquisition of the nationality of another state.*³³⁶

In addition to this, both the 1930 and 2003 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia denies deprivation of Ethiopian national by any means. This clearly shows that an Ethiopian national may not fail under the condition of statelessness caused by the law of Ethiopia.

However, the above reasons and proclamation are only for the *de jure statelessness*. Most nationals of the world states are always accuse and appeal for getting the expected state protection from external and internal threats. Especially emigrants (both legal and illegal) are demanding to get protection by the national state from any kinds of human rights abuses by the host-state. Regarding this, the 2003 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia stipulates that “*the state shall take such measures as may be necessary to ensure the protection of the rights and lawful interests of its nationals residing abroad*”.³³⁷ Hence, the government of Ethiopia is expected to protect the interests of nationals and hence, protect them from any kinds of human rights abuses and failing to do so lead to the *de-facto statelessness* of Ethiopian nationals who resides abroad.

5.6. Chapter Summary

The history of citizenship in Ethiopia goes along with the history of state formation and nation building process that counts many hundreds or thousand years back. However, though there was

³³⁵ The 1930 nationality Proclamation of Ethiopia article 11 (a)

³³⁶ Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 19 (1)

³³⁷ Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003 Art. 14 (2)

an exemplary periods for the formation of strong political associations in the earliest periods, the effective movement of nation building and formation of territorial contingent state were only vivid after the coming of Emperor Tewodros II. In this period, as Emperor Tewodros attempts to build strong central government with contingent territorial state, it was taken as the real period for the beginning of national building and individuals who identify themselves as an Ethiopian and able to defend their contingent territory from any kinds of treat.

But, most of the plans for modern state formation and nation building process were realized in the period of Emperor Menilik II. This due to the reason that this period was attributed with the establishment of clear territorial delimitation and the formation of strong central government which clearly manifested under the battle of Adwa in Ethiopia successfully defend its territory and government from the invasion of Italy. Accordingly, the sense of being an Ethiopian and the process of nation building were much more strong and effective than its predecessors.

Divergently, there is also an argument which says that the modern state formation ad nation building in Ethiopia was realized in period of Emperor Haile Selassie. As per this argument, unlike its predecessors, it was only in period of Emperor Haile Selassie that state boundaries become fixed and legally acceptable, political institution of government separated from the state and strong central government were established. These conditions and others lead to establish an international identification of Ethiopian personality and sense of being an Ethiopian that directly shows its contribution for the development of citizenship and national identity.

The sense of national identification and formation of strong central government were further strengthened by the two consecutive constitutions and the nationality proclamation of the Imperial regime. These two constitutions try to integrate basic human rights, though it was very contentious in case of 1931 constitution, for citizens. But, these rights were curtailed by the unlimited power of the Emperor. As a result, citizenship in this period was described by fulfilling responsibility and duty, which manifested through loyalty and being governed by the Imperial rule, to the Imperial Majesty. These expectation and duty of citizens to be loyal and governed by the Imperial Majesty were further strengthening by the two constitutions.

After Emperor Haile Selassie were overthrown by Derge, the ideological approach, system of the government, and the relation between citizens and government were changed from monarchical rule to socialist oriented military administration. This political shift directly changes the nature and understanding of citizenship and citizenship rights. As regard, the new endorsed constitution of Derge also tries to integrate a number of human rights that able to ensure basic freedoms as citizens of the country. However, the repressive nature of the military government nullifies these rights from exercising by citizens as per the constitutional provision.

Then while, after the fall of the military government by the coalition force of EPRDF, an ethno-territorial democratic federal system were established in Ethiopia. This new political system and state structure completely change the nature and practice of citizenship and citizenship rights. With the institutionalization of ethno-territorial federalism, the newly endorsed constitution (here and there the FDRE constitutions) gives due attention for ethnic nationalities as the locus of institutionalizing its local administration unites. Concurrently, the constitutional also tries to integrate the individuals and collective rights and basic freedoms, equality statements, special or preference actions in which citizens of the country can enjoy it equally and made an important constitutional provision that able to limit the power of government. The constitution also made an important provision regarding with the nationality and nationality rights.

The FDRE government also enacts its own nationality proclamation as the first official replacement of the 1930 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia since the fall of the Imperial monarchy of Emperor Haile Selassie. This proclamation, here and there 2003 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia, establishes a descent-based regime for attribution of citizenship at birth, remove gender discrimination in in relation to transmission of citizenship to children and spouses, and providing for a presumption in favor of abandoned infants found in Ethiopia. The nationality proclamation also made clear provision regarding with the acquisition and lose of Ethiopian nationality. The proclamation also made its devotion to reduce the condition of statelessness putting the requirement of the acquisition of the nationality of the foreign national to renounce Ethiopian nationality. Finally, the proclamations clearly abrogate the condition of acquiring dual nationality conglomerate with Ethiopian nationality.

Chapter end questions

I. Write true if the statement is correct and false if it is wrong

1. Both the 1930 and 2003 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia denies deprivation of Ethiopian national by any means.
2. As per the 2003 nationality proclamation, Ethiopia allows dual nationality.
3. Ethiopian did not allow to renounce his/her own Ethiopian nationality unless and other wise he/she has acquired or has been guaranteed the acquisition of the nationality of another state.
4. Under article 8 of 2003 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia, an individual who have a profound contribution for the achievements of the basic objective of the country can attain Ethiopian citizenship.
5. An Ethiopian national who abstain for a consecutive five to ten years from Ethiopia may loss his/her Ethiopian nationality.

II. Choose the best answer among the given alternatives

11. All of the following can be taken as main reason for the enactment of nationality law in Ethiopia for the first time except?
 - A. The request of Hague convention to have national citizenship law.
 - B. The intension of image building in the international arena
 - C. The need for further identification of Ethiopian identity
 - D. To further strengthen and specify the rights and citizens of citizens
 - E. None
12. Which of the following statement is correct regarding with citizenship in the period of Dergue Regime?
 - A. There was a clear nationality Proclamation
 - B. The repressive nature of the regime invalidates citizenship rights
 - C. The constitution totally fails to recognize the basic rights of citizens
 - D. Citizens were entitled civil and political rights than social and political rights
 - E. All

13. Which period of Ethiopia best match with the comings of the senses of modern citizenship in Ethiopia?
- A. The Period of Minilik C. The period Dergue E. None
B. The Period of Haile Selassie D. The Period of EPRD
14. Which of the following way of acquiring citizenship is not applicable under the 1930 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia?
- A. Through Marriage C. Naturalization E. None
B. Through descent D. Special case
15. Which of the following is wrong regarding with the features of citizenship in the period of FDRE?
- A. It integrates a number of civil and political rights for citizens
B. It come up with a gender biased nationality proclamation
C. It outlaws the rights of Jus-soil (law of soil) in Ethiopia
D. It outlaws an involuntary loss of citizenship in Ethiopia
E. All of the Above
16. Which of the following is correct regarding with the 1930 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia?
- A. An Ethiopian woman who marry foreign national may automatically loss her Ethiopian nationality
B. An Ethiopian woman who marry foreign national had the right to transfer Ethiopian nationality to her spouse.
C. An Ethiopian woman who lost her nationality upon her marriage with foreign national can re-admit Ethiopian nationality after divorce.
D. All of the above
E. None
17. Which of the following are not the basic conditions to be fulfilled to acquire Ethiopian nationality by law under the 1930 nationality proclamation?
- A. Full/majority age
B. Reside for at least five years in Ethiopia
C. The one who have criminal record

- D. Self-reliance
 - E. Knowing Amharic
18. Which of the following points are taken as the basic rights of citizens under the 2003 nationality Proclamation of Ethiopia?
- A. The right to get protection
 - B. The right to non-extradition
 - C. The Right to Deprivation
 - D. The right to equality
 - E. The right to change Nationality
19. According to the Ethiopian Nationality proclamation of 2003 article 5, the following are the requirements to grant citizenship by application except one.
- A. One who lived in Ethiopia for a total of at least four years
 - B. Not dependent (self-reliant)
 - C. Able to communicate in any of the languages of the world.
 - D. Non-record of criminal conviction
 - E. None of the above
20. Assume that, Mr. X is a Political scientist who actively participates to establish an inclusive non-ethnic based democracy in Ethiopia. On a successful accomplishment of such democracy, the government gives him honorable citizenship for Mr. X. This way of attaining citizenship is.....
- | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------|
| A. Special case | C. Political case | E. None |
| B. Restoration | D. Recognition | |

III. Explain briefly the following questions stated bellow

1. Explain briefly the similarity and difference between nationality and citizenship in Ethiopian context?
2. Discusses briefly the interaction and cross-impact of Ethiopian federalism, regional autonomy and citizenship in Ethiopia?
3. Compare and contrast the 1930 and 2003 nationality proclamation of Ethiopia.

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- The 1930 Nationality proclamation
- The 1931 constitution of Ethiopia
- The 1955 constitution of Ethiopia
- The ICCPR
- The UDHR
- The ICESCR

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The 1930 nationality Proclamation of Ethiopia

The 1931 Constitution of Ethiopia

The 1955 Revised Constitution of Ethiopia

The 1987 Constitution of Ethiopia

Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995

Ethiopian Nationality Proclamation No. 378/2003

Index I

National Anthem and Flag of Ethiopia in period of Emperor Haile Selassie

A. National Anthem

ኢትዮጵያሆይደስደበልሽ
በአምላክሽኃይልበንጉሥሽ
ተባብረዋልአርበኞችሽ
አይነካምከቶነጻነትሽ
ብርቱናቸውናተራሮችሽ
አትፈረምከጠላቶችሽ
ድልአድራጊውንጉሳችን
ይኑርልንለክብራችን
ብርቱናቸውተራሮችሽ
አትፈረምከጠላቶችሽ
ድልአድራጊውንጉሳችን
ይኑርልንለክብራችን

B. National Flag



Index II

National Anthem and Flag of Ethiopia in Period of Derge

A. National Anthem

ኢትዮጵያ ኢትዮጵያ ኢትዮጵያ ቅድሚያ
 በኅብረሰባዊነት አብባቢ ለምልሚ!
 ቃልኪዳን ገብተዋል ጀግኖች ልጆችሽ
 ወንዞች ተራሮችሽ ድንግል መሬትሽ
 ለኢትዮጵያ አንድነት ለነፃነትሽ
 መስዋዕት ሊሆኑ ለክብር ለዝናሽ!
 ተራመጂ ወደፊት በጥበብ ጎዳና
 ታጠቁ ለሥራ ለገርብ ልጽግና!
 የጀግኖች እናትነሽ በልጆችሽ ኩሪ
 ጠላቶችሽ ይጥፉ ለዘላለም ኑሪ!

B. National Flag



And



Index III

National Anthem and Flag of FDRE

A. National Anthem

የዜግነት ክብር በኢትዮጵያችን ፀንቶ
ታየህ ዝባዊነት ዳር እስከ ዳር በርቶ
ለሰላም ለፍትህ ለህዝቦች ነፃነት
በእኩልነት በፍቅር ቆመናል ባንድነት
መሰረተ ፅኑ ሰብዕናን ያልሻርን
ህዝቦችን ለስራ በስራ የኖርን
ድንቅ የባህል መድረክ ያኩራት ርስባለቤት
የተፈጥሮ ፀጋ የጀግና ህዝብ እናት
እንጠብቅሻለን አለብን አደራ
ኢትዮጵያችን ኑረ እኛም ባንቺ እንኩራ።

B. National Flag

